

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM IRANICARUM

Part I Inscriptions of Ancient Iran

VOL. I THE OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS  
TEXTS I

The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great  
Old Persian Text

*by*  
RÜDIGER SCHMITT

1991

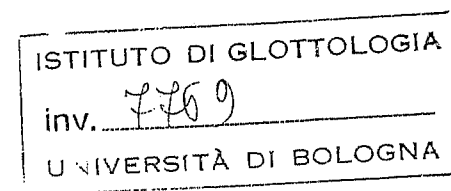
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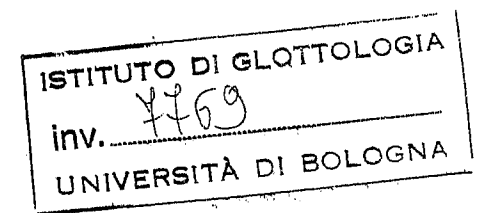
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AN INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE

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DEDICATED  
to  
MY BELOVED WIFE  
on the occasion of  
this year's anniversaries

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## PREFACE

The present edition of the Old Persian inscriptions of King Darius I at Mt. Bisitun offers a selection of the photographs taken by members of the staff of the German Archaeological Institute, Tehran Branch (esp. by Heinz Luschey and the late Leo Trümpelmann) in the winter of 1963–64, when a scaffold had been erected for an inspection of the Great King's monument by the then Shahinshah (see pl. 3). Regrettably, on all available photographs of the third column of the text, DB III, the scaffold is not entirely out of sight (see pl. 16, 20), so that a great many cuneiform characters are hidden from the examiner and cannot be collated or revised.

In addition to the photographs, the following matter will be presented: (1) the transliterated text, which is intended to incorporate all readings that are ascertainable in one way or another; (2) the critical apparatus, which has to specify accurately what was seen by the previous editors, Sir Henry C. Rawlinson (R), L. W. King/R. C. Thompson (KT) – who by and large were followed by F. H. Weissbach (W) and R. G. Kent (K, esp. K<sup>1</sup>) – and George G. Cameron (C) respectively (the more so since a large number of characters recorded as legible by these scholars have partly or entirely disappeared in the mean while), and, where necessary, what is still visible on the photographs; (3) the phonemic transcription (in general following the lines of Schmitt 1989) and (4) an English translation of the text, both of these being annotated in (5) a short commentary,

which has been kept to a minimum and is intended only for justification of the transcriptions and interpretations chosen or of the translation proposed, insofar as they may seem debatable.

The translation tries to render the original Old Persian text word for word, as far as possible, and at the same time to conform to the syntactic and stylistic means employed therein. At any rate, the translation given is of the Old Persian text alone (as is, e.g., Kent's) and does not attempt to combine all the trilingual evidence of the inscriptions into one English rendering. The names are given in Graeco-Latin form, if known, or in a commonly-used transcription of a Babylonian, Hebrew or other equivalent, and only as a last resort in an exact rendering of the original Old Persian form.

Finally, I have to express my thanks to the Council of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, for entrusting me with the preparation of this edition; to the staff of the German Archaeological Institute, Tehran Branch (Berlin) and to Professor Heinz Luschey (Tübingen), for permission to publish the photographs of the inscriptions in this volume; to Dr Nicholas Sims-Williams for improving my English and editing this volume; and to the British Academy and the Union Académique Internationale, for their contributions towards the costs of publishing this volume.

## SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS

For marking restored characters, additions, corrections and the like I have used the following system of signs, in which there are indicated by  
 [ ]: characters obliterated by erosion and thus preserved only in part, but identified by the present editor with certainty;  
 [ ]: characters lost totally (or at least damaged so far that they cannot be identified), but supplied from the context either almost certainly or by mere conjecture;  
 < >: characters omitted or written erroneously, but added or corrected by the present editor.

In addition, •, ••, etc. indicate vacant spaces left blank on the rock for one, two, or more characters, either for marking the beginning of a new section or because of the unevenness of the rock's surface, + - + - + and + + + the space for a definite or an uncertain number of characters respectively.

In the critical apparatus the following shortened references to previous editions or treatments are used (see bibliography): R=Rawlinson 1847; KT=King-Thompson 1907; WB=Weissbach-Bang 1908; W=Weissbach 1911; K<sup>(1,2)</sup>=Kent 1950 and Kent 1953 respectively. As to C and CL see the text-notes to DB IV 88ff. and to DB V. – References to Old Persian texts are according to the system of Kent 1950; 1953.

Other abbreviations used are:

acc. = accusative  
 Aram. = Aramaic  
 Av. = Avestan  
 Bab. = Babylonian  
 B.C. = before Christ  
 cent. = century  
 cfr. = compare  
 DAI = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Teheran  
 e.g. = for example  
 Elam. = Elamite  
 esp. = especially

etc. = and so on  
 fem. = feminine  
 f(f.) = and the following  
 fig. = figure  
 fn. = footnote  
 Gk. = Greek  
 Goth. = Gothic  
 i.a. = among others  
 ibid. = in the same place  
 i.e. = that is  
 Iran. = Iranian  
 Lat. = Latin  
 l.c. = loco citato  
 masc. = masculine  
 Med. = Median  
 MIA. = Middle Indo-Aryan  
 MP = Middle Persian  
 Mt. = Mount  
 N.B. = note particularly  
 no. = number  
 NP = New Persian  
 ntr. = neuter  
 OAv. = Old Avestan  
 OP = Old Persian  
 p. = page  
 PIE. = Proto-Indo-European  
 pl. = plate  
 plur. = plural  
 s.a. = sine anno  
 s.l. = sine loco  
 s.v. = sub verbo  
 Ved. = Vedic  
 viz. = namely  
 YAv. = Younger Avestan

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### 1. Abbreviations used

- AA = Archäologischer Anzeiger. Berlin.  
 AAH = Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.  
 AArmL = Annual of Armenian Linguistics. Cleveland, OH.  
 AcIr = Acta Iranica. Leiden.  
 AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung. Graz.  
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology. New York.  
 AMI [N.F.] = Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. [Neue Folge]. Berlin.  
 Archaeologia = Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity. London.  
 Biblica = Biblica. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici. Roma.  
 BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden.  
 BSL = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris. Paris.  
 CIr = Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. London.  
 EIr = Encyclopaedia Iranica. London/New York.  
 GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen. Göttingen.  
 Historia = Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte. Wiesbaden.  
 HS = Historische Sprachforschung. Göttingen/Zürich (continuing: KZ).  
 IJ = Indo-Iranian Journal. Dordrecht.  
 Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies. London.  
 JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven, CT.  
 JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies. Cambridge, MA.  
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago.  
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.  
 Kratylus = Kratylus. Kritisches Berichts- und Rezensionsorgan für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden.  
 KSINA = Kratkie Soobščeniia Instituta Narodov Azii. Moskva.  
 KZ = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung. Göttingen (followed by: HS).  
 MSS = Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. München.  
 Or = Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici. Nova Series. Roma.  
 OS = Orientalia Suecana. Stockholm.  
 RIA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin/New York.  
 Sprache = Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden/Wien.  
 Sprachwissenschaft = Sprachwissenschaft. Heidelberg.  
 StIr = Studia Iranica. Leiden.  
 TPhS = Transactions of the Philological Society. Oxford.  
 VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii. Moskva.  
 VJa = Voprosy Jazykoznanija. Moskva.  
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie. Berlin.  
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Stuttgart.  
 ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik. Bonn.

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## INTRODUCTION

Proclaims Darius, the king: If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and, as long as there is strength to you, shall care for them, may Auramazdā be friendly to you, and may offspring be to you in great number, and may you live long! And what you shall do, may Auramazdā make that successful for you! (DB § 66)

The trilingual cuneiform inscription of King Darius the Great at Mt. Bisitun is by far the longest inscription and from both the historical and the philological point of view the most important of all the documents left by the Achaemenid kings, not to mention its role in the decipherment of three kinds of cuneiform writing and in the understanding of the Old Persian language. Therefore this text may justly be called the “empress of the ancient oriental inscriptions”. The majestic monument of which this inscription forms part is high up on the rock cliffs of Mt. Bisitun, which rises some 32 km east of Kirmanshah on the northern side of Iran’s age-old main east-west thoroughfare (caravan-trail and military route) from the Median highlands over the Zagros mountains to Mesopotamia. As to the name, its modern form *Bisitūn* (also *Bīsutūn* or *Bistūn*) is transformed by popular etymology (“without columns”) from mediaeval MP, NP *Bahistūn* (“with good columns”), which in turn is recast from an unattested \**Bahistān*. Only that form goes back directly to the old name of the site, OP \**Bagastāna*- “place of the god(s)” – known from Diodorus 2,13,1 in the Greek rendering Βαγίστανον (ὄρος) “Mt. Bagistanon” – a name which clearly shows that the place itself had been holy from time immemorial (cfr., most recently, R. Schmitt, EIr IV 289f. s.v. *Bīsotūn*).

Mt. Bisitun, obviously a place of imposing magnitude, is not an isolated mountain, but forms the terminal point of a long, narrow range of mountains by which the plain of Kirmanshah is bounded on the north. Seen from the east, i.e. as it appears to the traveller approaching from Hamadan, the limestone massif of Mt. Bisitun, already visible from afar, seems to rise suddenly and precipitously from the plain to a height of more than 500 metres. As the caravan-route winds between the foot of the rock and several springs, it is just above one particular spring of pure water more copious than the others that one finds the monument of Darius (facing almost due east) on the western side of a craggy cleft running northward into the mountain-range immediately before the last peak.

The monument is cut into the rock of the cleft at the height of some 20 m above a platform covered with rubble (the closest point which can

be reached by climbing) and of some 60 m above the retaining wall of the springs near the caravan-trail. (More exactly, the ledge below the OP text – scarcely more than one and a half metres broad – is 61.80 m and the base-line of the relief itself 66.05 m above this point, cfr. Luschey 1968, 66f.) Thus from a distance, e.g. from the road in the valley below, the monument, which is altogether inaccessible, appears dwarfed by the lofty peak of Mt. Bisitun, the more so as it does not directly face the plain; yet in fact it is of huge dimensions and dominates its surroundings. The ensemble of the relief, which formed the centre-piece of the original composition, and of the trilingual inscriptions has an over-all breadth of just 18 m and is about 7 m high; the relief alone, which represents in a symbolic composition the triumph of Darius the Great over the usurper Gaumāta and nine other rebels and which is called by the natives “The Nine Dervishes”, measures ca. 3 by 5.48 m, while the pre-eminent figure of the Great King is almost life-sized.

Whereas the minor inscriptions DBa-k (on the vacant parts of the relief panel and on its lower margin, which is ca. 30 cm in breadth) are placed as close as space permitted to the person whom they label, the major inscriptions are related spatially only to the relief as a whole: the “first” Elamite version (in four columns) is engraved to the right of the relief, the Babylonian (arranged in a single column) to its left on the face of an overhanging rock, while the five columns of the Old Persian text occupy the space beneath the sculptures. The second Elamite text, which is a meticulous copy of the first and which was necessitated by an extension of the relief to the right into the area of the original Elamite text, is placed in three columns to the left of the Old Persian text, i.e. diagonally to the left below the relief.

The Old Persian text of the major inscription is 3.96 m high (cfr. Luschey 1968, 67) – this figure, however, apparently gives the distance from the lower margin of the relief to the ledge below the inscriptions – and columns I to IV are from 1.90 to 1.95 m in width (cfr. Jackson 1903, 82; 1906a, 193); they comprise 96, 98, 92, and again 92 lines, giving,



together with the 36 lines of the subsequently-added column V (which is not even half as high and narrower by a sixth than the other four), a sum total of 414 lines of Old Persian text. As is the case with the other versions, the inscribed area of the Old Persian text is ruled with lightly engraved lines, on which the signs stand. The line height, i.e. the space between two lines, is about 3.8 cm on average, which is interpreted by von Voigtlander 1978, 3, with reference to the Babylonian version as meaning "two fingers' breadth"; only in column V is the figure somewhat higher. And according to Cameron 1960, 60b, "the verticals in the Old Persian and second Elamite inscriptions all measure at least 2.8 cms.", being larger and more carefully chiselled than the characters of the other two versions. Owing to the length of the inscriptions, however, economy and careful planning in the use of the available space were imperative.

As a whole the monument of Darius the Great is rather impressive (see pl. 2), and it is obvious that both the relief and the inscriptions were intended to impress everyone who saw them – even though Rawlinson 1847, 193, of course exaggerated in saying of the inscriptions that "for extent, for beauty of execution, for uniformity and correctness, they are perhaps unequalled in the world". That the texts, carved high up on a precipitous and inaccessible rock, could not in fact have been read was not of any consequence, since copies of them (some of which are partly preserved) had been sent to all the peoples of the Empire in different languages (cfr. R. Schmitt, EIr IV 302f., s.v. Bīsotūn). Thus the texts seem to have been intended to impress by their very existence, in an almost magical way, despite the fact that the major Bisitun inscription is in principle a propagandistic text through and through, which enumerates only the victories of the Great King, without wasting any words on the casualties of his own troops.

The inspiration to choose Bisitun for the monument commemorating his triumph perhaps came to Darius from another such relief ca. 150 km further west on the same thoroughfare, that of the Lullubi king Anubanini (of around 2000 B.C.) at Sar-i Pul-i Zuhāb near the so-called "Gates of Asia" in the Zagros mountains. It may be supposed that Darius came along this old route from Babylon through the Zagros to Media and thus passed Mt. Bisitun in the spring of 521 B.C., when he was marching against the rebellious Phraortes, whom he fought on 8 May of that same year near Kunduru in Media (DB § 31). The fortress where Darius had won his decisive victory over Gaumāta in the year before, Sikayuvati in the Median district of Nisāya (DB § 13), may also have been situated in the vicinity

of Mt. Bisitun. Work on the Bisitun monument may have begun shortly after the Margian rebel Frāda had been overthrown on 28 December 521 B.C. (DB § 38), hence early in the year 520 B.C.

The genesis of the monument, i.e. of both the relief and the inscriptions, and the successive stages of its creation have been made clear since the 1960s in a number of studies initiated and stimulated by Trümpelmann 1967 and Luschey 1968 (cfr. also the summary accounts in von Voigtlander 1978, 1–3 ["The Design and Engraving of the Monument"], and R. Schmitt, EIr IV 300–302 s.v. Bīsotūn, as well as Cameron 1973, 51, regarding the arguments put forward by H. T. Wade-Gery as early as 1951). In the case of the minor inscriptions the sequence of the languages is indubitably first Elamite, then Babylonian, and finally Old Persian, since the Elamite captions occupy the most prominent position above the figures; the Babylonian ones were then added beneath them (the position of DBb being decisive, see pl. 5) and the Old Persian finally packed in wherever space was still available (so that DBb, though it concerns his arch-enemy Gaumāta, was placed directly under Darius, and DBe was even engraved on the skirt of Phraortes). Likewise, the Elamite version of the major inscription must have preceded the other two; this first major inscription to be realized contained the same 54 sections as its later copy, which are equivalent to DB §§ 1–69 of the Old Persian text, in which several sections of the Elamite and the (almost identically arranged) Babylonian version (cfr., most recently, von Voigtlander 1978, 6) are further subdivided, though the order of the sections (each of which is introduced by the OP formula /ōāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya/ "Proclaims Darius, the king") is the same throughout.

This first major inscription must have been composed in Elamite because this language was still – the Old Persian cuneiform script not yet being in existence – the official literary language of the Achaemenid court. Unlike the other trilingual texts of Darius the Great and his successors, therefore, the great Bisitun inscription was not yet conceived as a trilingual text from the very beginning. Moreover it was preceded by a much shorter text, viz. the minor inscription DBa, which stands on the relief panel itself, accompanying the figure of the king. The ten-line Elamite version of DBa differs from DB §§ 1–4 as to the royal titles particularized in the introductory section (cfr. Weissbach 1911, 8f., 74f. with fn. b) and must therefore have been composed and engraved earlier than the main text, whereas the captions DBb–j as a group may be somewhat later.

Not long after the Elamite text to the right of the relief was finished,

the Babylonian version (arranged in a single column of 112 lines) was added on a projecting slope to its left, presumably early in 519 B.C. It may have been in the same year that the Old Persian text was added in an area below the relief. At the end this version received a supplement (DB IV 88–92) concerning the introduction of the novel Old Persian form of writing, from which section it becomes perfectly clear that the Old Persian cuneiform was used here for the very first time. Whereas there is no Babylonian translation of this section, an Elamite version, rephrased as far as necessary, has been fitted into the free space in the upper left of the relief panel as a separate text (DBI), because owing to lack of space it could no longer be fitted into its proper place at the end of the main text. It may be added here that Darius's statement that this was the first inscription to be written in the Old Persian cuneiform script can be proved from the script itself, since two characters have a particular shape in the Bisitun inscriptions and nowhere else. Thus, in DB, the word divider is not an angle, as in all later texts, but an oblique wedge half as high as the line, and likewise the first vertical wedge of the  $\gamma$  sign does not fill the line to the top (cfr. Hinz 1973, 24).

This Old Persian text, though seemingly a retranslation from the Elamite "original" (cfr. the commentary to DB IV 33), which in its turn goes back to the words dictated by the Great King in his Old Persian native language for translation into Elamite by bilingual Elamite scribes of his chancellery, in all probability represents what Darius himself regarded as the definitive or standard version, since only this assumption would account for its occasional omissions and for some other minor changes (cfr. the commentary to DB IV 39f.).

In the mean while the fighting continued. This becomes evident from the fact that in DB § 21 Egypt and Scythia are mentioned among the countries which became rebellious whilst Darius was in Babylon, but in fact Egypt is not dealt with at all in the detailed enumeration of all the rebellions and Scythia only in the supplementary column V of the Old Persian text. Whereas the suppression of the Egyptian rising apparently took longer, the conquest of Scythia was successful at least in Darius's third year; however, work on the sculptures and on the Elamite inscription seem to have been completed before the loyal Gobryas's victory over the Elamites under Athamaita and the King's triumph over the Scythians under Skunkha, which were gained in the second and third regnal years of Darius and are described in DB V, had taken place.

In this situation the King gave orders to extend the whole conception

of the monument and to add the figure of the captured Scythian leader Skunkha (identified by the caption DBk, which is in Elamite and Old Persian only) on the right, at the end of the queue of defeated rebels. As a result, this figure had to be cut into the Elamite text of the major inscription, originally placed to the right of the sculptures, and consequently this text had to be abandoned and cut away in its entirety. Therefore it was meticulously copied (as Cameron 1960, 59–61, was able to ascertain) and engraved anew, in three columns of 81, 85, and 94 lines respectively, on a carefully dressed surface to the left of the Old Persian text.

It is noteworthy that the Elamite version was not expanded in substance on this occasion, but that the necessary supplementary sections recording recent events were added to the Old Persian texts alone at the right of DB IV in a separate, fifth column not even half as high as the other four. The content of the first Elamite text (in four columns with 323 lines in all) was finally clarified by Cameron, l.c., since King-Thompson 1907, 151f., could read only a few words of that allegedly "much weathered" (p. xiii) text, which they called "supplementary texts" and which they related by guess to the events described in the Old Persian fifth column (DB V). That these so-called "supplementary texts" on the whole correspond to the "final" Elamite version could have been surmised, however, even by King and Thompson themselves, since from the end of the first column (cfr. *ibid.*, pp. 151f.) it is to be seen that this first of the four columns reaches to line 65 of the "second" Elamite version and hence comprises almost one fourth of the whole text (of 260 lines).

It was said above that the Old Persian text of the major inscription is the original one, at least in the sense that a dictation of the Great King in that language lies at the root of the oldest written version, viz. the Elamite one (cfr. Schmitt 1980a, 120a). A statement such as this seems to be strengthened also by the fact that all the other versions show obvious influences from Old Persian on their syntax and lexicon (cfr. Dandamaev 1976, 78ff.). It is of fundamental importance for the evaluation of these problems to compare the four versions of the text of which we know at least partially (this restriction being chiefly relevant to the Aramaic translation, of which only slight papyrological remains are extant).

The interrelations between the versions are rather complex and have never been studied in a really comprehensive manner. Closely connected with one another are no doubt the Old Persian and the Elamite texts on the one hand and the Aramaic and the Babylonian versions on the other. The two latter agree notably in including the numbers of enemies killed

or captured. They also go together in preferring the Semitic month names and particular forms of certain geographical names and in employing, when occasion arises, forms with Median instead of Old Persian dialectological features. From all these similarities and discrepancies it may be (and indeed has been) supposed that the text was originally written down (on the King's Old Persian dictation) in the royal chancellery in both Aramaic and Elamite.

As for the technical aspects of the engraving of the cuneiform inscriptions, von Voigtlander 1978, 5, has noticed in the Babylonian version "remarkably few" cases of dittography, "even fewer" cases of scribal omission, and the use of a special "technique of erasure and re-engraving". Much the same seems to be true of the Old Persian text, as casual observations show. But it must be candidly admitted that such questions have not been asked up to now, let alone answered. Nor should one overlook the differences which exist in the employment of the various cuneiform systems. While Babylonian scribes are anxious to have the end of a word at the end of the line, their Elamite and Persian colleagues are not reluctant to divide the words wherever needed. There is also a strange difference to be observed in the manner of ending the text: in the last line (112) of the Babylonian version the engraver spaces out the last words to the utmost in order to fill out the line (for the details see von Voigtlander 1978, 48), whereas both the Elamite and the Persian engraver let the text end in the middle of the line.

Von Voigtlander 1978, 5f., 73, has been the first to reckon with eight different engravers who were at work on the Babylonian inscription and can be identified by a number of characteristic features that range from different line height and depth of engraving to variations in the signs, in the spelling of certain words or names, and in the word order. Similar studies are entirely lacking for the Elamite version(s); as for the Old Persian text, to the best of my knowledge it is only in Schmitt 1990, 23ff., 26ff., that the first attempt has been made to discover traces of the work of different engravers. Clear evidence seems to be available at least in the graphic variants *a-r-mi-i-n°*/*a-r-mi-n°* |Armina-| "Armenia", *a-m-a-n-y*/*a-m-a-n-i-y* |amānaya| "waited", *n-b-u-ku-u-d-r-c-r*/*n-b-u-ku-d°* |Nabukdracara| "Nebuchadnezzar", and others.

Even among the Achaemenid kings' texts composed in the Old Persian language and written down in Old Persian cuneiform, both of which are "confined to royal prestige purposes" (Gershevitch 1979, 122) without exception, the major Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great is a unique

historical document in that it is the only text of any ruler belonging to that dynasty which contains a narrative of historical events. In the preamble to this genuine "Res gestae", the king proclaims the legitimacy of his rule, i.e. his title to the kingship in succession to his relatives Cyrus II the Great and Cambyses II, by reciting his own ancestry (DB §§ 1–2), by giving a list of the twenty-three countries that belonged to the Empire when he became king (DB § 6), and by emphasizing that only he himself was able to despoil the usurper Gaumāta of the kingship which he had taken away from the Achaemenids (DB §§ 12–13). The account given of this episode, which reached its climax in the slaying of Gaumāta himself and in the accession of Darius to the throne on 29 September 522 B.C. (by which the introduction is brought to an end), forms part of the historical narrative proper, which begins in DB § 10 with the relation of certain events during the reign of Cambyses and of that king's mysterious death.

The central part of the inscription, comprising §§ 15–53 (DB I 71–IV 32), describes at great length the king's activities in his accession year and in his first regnal year, i.e. a long series of struggles against rebellious pretenders to the throne, whom Darius had to defeat (either himself or with the aid of some loyal generals) in order to secure the crown. No less than five times Darius boasts that he has accomplished all these deeds "in one and the same year". Borger 1982, 20–24, has demonstrated, to my mind compellingly, that this boast may be true, if one eliminates the murder of Gaumāta from this "one year", since all the victories – from the overthrow of the Babylonians on the 26th day of the month Āciyādiya (i.e., 13 December 522) until that of the Margian Frāda on the 23rd day of the same month in the following year (i.e., 28 December 521) – did indeed take place in "one year", even if this be a leap-year with an intercalary month. The fifth column (in Old Persian only), as has been pointed out above, is merely a short postscript.

Thus the contents of the text may be summarized in the following outline (based more on Borger-Hinz 1984 than on von Voigtlander 1978, 52f.):

I (§§ 1–9; DB I 1–26): the royal "protocol" and the king's ancestral line; the range and style of his government.

II (§§ 10–15; DB I 26–72): the events leading to Darius's accession to the throne (this part being rounded off in the manner of a so-called "ring-composition" according to Schmitt 1972b, 141): the murder of Smerdis by Cambyses; the rebellion of Gaumāta; the death of Cambyses; the murder of Gaumāta on 29 September 522, by which Darius became king.

III (§§ 16–20; DB I 72–II 5): the Elamite revolt of Ācina and that of Nidintu-Bēl in Babylonia; their capture (perhaps in mid-December 522 and shortly after, respectively) and their execution.

IV.A (§ 21; DB II 5–8): list of the nine countries in revolt during Darius's stay in Babylon.

IV.B (§§ 22–23; DB II 8–13): the second Elamite revolt of Martiya and his execution (no date given).

IV.C (§§ 24–34; DB II 13–92): the Median revolt of Phraortes and his execution in Ecbatana (shortly after 8 May 521); several victories gained at the same time by Darius's loyal generals over Armenian rebels (the account being rather vague in some respects); the Sagartian revolt of Tritantaechmes and his execution (on 15 July 521 according to the Babylonian version; cfr. Borger 1982, 24f.).

IV.D (§§ 35–37; DB II 92–III 10): the overthrow of Parthia and Hyrcania, which joined the rebellious Phraortes, by Darius's father Hystaspes.

IV.E (§§ 38–39; DB III 10–21): the Margian revolt of Frāda and his overthrow by Dādarshi (on 28 December 521).

IV.F (§§ 40–44; DB III 21–53): the Persian revolt of Vahyazdāta; his capture (on 15 July 521) and his execution.

IV.G (§§ 45–48; DB III 53–76): the Arachosian campaign of Darius's satrap Vivāna against an anonymous follower of Vahyazdāta.

V (§§ 49–51; DB III 76–IV 2): the second Babylonian revolt of the Armenian Arakha; his capture (on 27 November 521) and his execution shortly after.

VI.A (§§ 52–53; DB IV 2–32): summary of the nine pretenders and of the nineteen battles fought with them.

VI.B (§ 54; DB IV 33–36): Falsehood as the reason for the rebellions; Auramazdā as their suppressor.

VI.C (§ 55; DB IV 36–40): warning against Falsehood.

VI.D (§§ 56–58; DB IV 40–50): solemn assurance of the king's deeds and of his love of truth.

VI.E (§ 59; DB IV 50–52): the uniqueness of Darius's unrivalled achievements.

VI.F (§§ 60–61; DB IV 52–59): blessing and curse on future people according as they do or do not conceal Darius's record.

VI.G (§§ 62–63; DB IV 59–67): Auramazdā's assistance to Darius and its motivation.

VI.H (§§ 64–67; DB IV 67–80): the king's admonition to future kings

and to those who may read his record, both in general and with regard to keeping the Bisitun monument in good repair. – With this admonition the first draft of the text ended (so far as the facts can be established with certainty), as shown by Gschnitzer 1977, 8–11.

VII (§§ 68–69; DB IV 80–88): list of the six followers who supported Darius against Gaumāta; admonition to future kings to take care of the descendants of these six. – With this first supplement (according to Gschnitzer, l.c.) the original text (as attested by the Elamite and Babylonian versions) ended.

VIII (§ 70; DB IV 88–92): the introduction of a novel form of writing and the promulgation of the text throughout the Empire. – This second supplement is extant only in the Old Persian text (where it is added in its proper place) and in an Elamite version as the separate (minor) text DBI (see above).

IX.A (§§ 71–73; DB V 1–20): the second Elamite revolt of Athamaita and its suppression by Gobryas.

IX.B (§§ 74–76; DB V 20–36): the Scythian revolt of Skunkha and its overthrow by Darius. – This third and last supplement concerning the events of Darius's second and third regnal years is added only to the Old Persian text in a separate, fifth column.

As to the order in which the nine so-called “Liar-Kings” are detailed, it has to be emphasized that in the relief these nine usurpers are pictured in chronological order according to the date of their overthrow, as follows: 1. Gaumāta; 2. Ācina; 3. Nidintu-Bēl; 4. Phraortes; 5. Martiya; 6. Tritantaechmes; 7. Vahyazdāta; 8. Arakha; 9. Frāda. In contrast to this, both the main part of the inscription and the short summary of DB § 52 give them in the following order: 1. Gaumāta; 2. Ācina; 3. Nidintu-Bēl; 4. Martiya; 5. Phraortes; 6. Tritantaechmes; 7. Frāda; 8. Vahyazdāta; 9. Arakha.

The major Bisitun inscription, as is shown by its contents, is no doubt a historical source of great importance – and it goes without saying that it was created for explicit historical instruction – but in addition it is also a text of some value as a literary source. It is in particular Harmatta 1982 who has argued that its brief and lapidary but repetitive style, its impressive though by no means bombastic language, and its narrative models reflect the characteristics of oral poetry. One such feature is the acknowledgment (recurring dozens of times) that Darius owes his power to Auramazdā (in which particularly the formulaic /vašnā Auramazdāha/ “by the favour of Auramazdā” functions as a kind of topos). Another is the

formula introducing every section, by means of which the entire text is divided into “paragraphs” (the number of which is 69 in the Old Persian text but 54 and 55 in the corresponding parts of the Elamite and Babylonian versions, which seems to be the more economical arrangement, though it too shows irregularities: cfr. Herrenschmidt 1990, 52f.). This introductory formula (construed in the third person of course) purports to give a direct quotation of the announcements of Darius himself (who delivers his declarations in the first person, however), so that the continual change between these two “registers” makes the whole text technically rather complex.

Among the probable literary parallels or prototypes one may certainly count the Assyrian Royal Annals, particularly those of King Assurbanipal (cfr. Harmatta 1982, 86f., who starts, however, in my opinion erroneously, from the supposition that Darius’s “Res gestae” are composed in metrical form). Furthermore, there are several formulas reminiscent of those attested in the Urartian inscriptions, so that it is possible to suppose that Darius may also have been inspired, even if indirectly, by the rock inscriptions of the kings of Urartu.

In view of the historical (and philological) importance of the inscriptions on the rock at Mt. Bisitun it is particularly to be regretted that over the millennia all of them have suffered severe damage from various sources, evidently including winds and drifting sands and erosion by seasonal rains and winter frost. Therefore considerable parts of them have become difficult to read or have been totally lost. Such damage never ceased, but has continued even since the days of Rawlinson or King and Thompson (see below on “The Study of the Inscriptions”), so that on the whole it is just possible (and has to be taken into account in the reconstitution of the text) that in their day parts of the inscriptions could still be read which are illegible today – all the more so since in this century, chiefly during the two World Wars, further mutilation has been caused to the monument by soldiers and other riflemen, who have passed along the route below the mountain-range and have used the figures in the relief as targets for wild shots.

In particular the Elamite and Old Persian versions of the major Bisitun inscription have also been damaged by streams of water gushing out of the rock after rainfall and by calcareous sediments produced by the water, which are dissolved higher up at the top of the columns but further down fill up the engraved wedges of the cuneiform characters. Whereas these glaze-like limestone incrustations admittedly obscured the affected pass-

ages of the text, but at the same time preserved them from weathering, so that Cameron could try to remove the deposit by careful and delicate hammering (see below) and indeed was able to recover in this way some previously invisible signs, the waters which stream down in broad bands at several places have washed away great portions of the inscriptions, eating away the rock to a depth of 12 or 15 cm or even more at the top of the columns (for all these questions cfr., above all, Cameron 1951, 48ab). In the Old Persian text the major bands of such damaged surface of the rock (which are distinguished by a greyish colour contrasting with the brown of the “original” text) are found in column I (beginning ca. 45 cm from the right edge) and in the middle of column II (beginning ca. one metre from the left edge and covering a width of more than 50 cm) and of column IV (affecting by and large the second quarter of each line). Whereas the supplementary column V is for the most part in a rather deplorable state of preservation (as has been noticed already by Rawlinson), the upper two-thirds of column III at any rate has come down in an almost perfect state.

These streams of water, which always pour down across the face of the inscription after rainfall and which over the years have deeply eroded parts of the upper half of the text and have left the deposits mentioned in the lower half, emerge from several gaps in the rock both above and below the relief, especially from a horizontal fissure (between the relief and the Old Persian text), which is actually the exit of a kind of underground river which flows in the spaces between the transverse geological layers of the whole rock massif. The resulting damage is not caused only by water, however, since in winter the gushing water at once freezes to ice and as such little by little smoothes or grinds away the rock, as is documented by several of Heinz Luschey’s photographs (taken on January 20th, 1964), e.g. the one (of the Old Persian text) published in Schmitt 1990, fig. 2, or that of column V published here on pl. 28. (I owe the first information about these matters to a letter of Professor H. Luschey, dated August 5th, 1989.)

As a consequence of all this influence of weather and climate – in this regard Bisitun is quite unlike the *monumentum aere perennius . . .*, | *quod non imber edax, non aquilo inpotens* | *possit diruere aut innumerabilis* | *annorum series et fuga temporum* of Horace (*carm.* 3,30,1–5) – the inscriptions as a whole contain many longer or shorter sequences of indecipherable characters. Thus it is no mere accident that the Old Persian text seemed already to Cameron 1951, 48a, much less legible than it must have been to his predecessors. But nevertheless we must be thankful to Darius himself for

having placed this relief and this great inscription on such a precipitous rock and having ordered all means of access to the monument to be removed after its completion, so that no wilful damage could be done to it. As a corollary of all this damage (whether wilful or not) there remain to this day considerable gaps in our knowledge of the Old Persian text of Darius's inscriptions at Mt. Bisitun. In spite of the intense study of these inscriptions (on which see below) a perfect copy of the text has not

yet been achieved. But I fully trust that the evaluation of the photographs and the rechecking of the entire text have led to an in many respects better and more reliable copy of the text and that altogether a text has been constituted here, that is more complete and on the whole nearer to Darius's original wording than any to be read in previous editions. May it provide a basis for a deeper understanding of the text to be gained in the future.

## THE STUDY OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The location of the Bisitun monument made it from the very beginning rather difficult to examine both the relief and the inscriptions, since the rock pathway which gave access to the monument for Darius's sculptors, scribes and other workmen was as far as possible removed and the natural rock smoothed, when the work was finished, so that the relief and the inscriptions might be visible from afar but no one might damage them; therefore this path can be followed today only in part. Though several European travellers from the end of the 16th century (i.a. Abel Pinçon, Pietro della Valle, Ambrogio Bembo, G. A. Olivier and J. Malcolm) noticed the monument and mentioned it in their writings, even if with odd misinterpretations, the first detailed description and the first quite useful copy of Darius's relief were those of Sir Robert Ker Porter (1821–22), who, being still ignorant of the content of the inscriptions, imputed the relief to the Assyrian king Salmanasar. (This reminds one that already the ancient Greek physician and historiographer Ctesias, who is quoted by Diodorus 2,13,1ff., assigned the monument at Βαγίστανον ὄρος to the legendary Babylonian queen Semiramis.) On the whole the inscription was said to be inaccessible, and nobody dared to expose himself to the dangerous climb till the year 1835.

The first to reach the monument itself, to study it closely, and to copy the inscriptions was Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General Sir) Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–1895) at intervals between 1835 and 1847. This British officer, being stationed in Kirmanshah in the mid-1830s as a military adviser and assistant to the provincial governor, devoted most hours of his leisure to examining these inscriptions and “used frequently to scale the rock three or four times a day without the aid of a rope or ladder: without any assistance, in fact, whatever” (Rawlinson 1852, 74). After having first collated the first two paragraphs of DB only, in the winter of 1836–37 he copied all the rest of DB I, the beginning of DB II and about two thirds of DB III, as well as four of the minor inscriptions (cfr. Rawlinson 1847, 7 with fn. 1). Before he could finish his studies, he was appointed political agent in Qandahar and thus had to participate in the first Anglo-Afghan War. Having come back from Afghanistan to Baghdad only in December 1843, he resumed his cuneiform studies in the summer of 1844 and returned to Bisitun together with Mr. A. Hector and Lieutenant J. F. Jones, who assisted him – all three having ascended to the ledge below the inscriptions by means of ropes (Rawlinson 1852, 74)

and having left their names beneath DB II – in finishing his copies of the Old Persian text and in copying considerable parts of the Elamite version.

In the following year Rawlinson was able to finish both his treatise on the Old Persian cuneiform script and the copy of the Old Persian text and to send it to the Royal Asiatic Society (Rawlinson 1847). One has to bear in mind that this first copy by Rawlinson originated at a time when the script and language in question and the content of the text were known only in part and when the copyist often did not know what to look for. So his copy was bound to be defective – especially if one considers the circumstances of its origin (cfr. Rawlinson 1852, 74) – though from the beginning Rawlinson had noticed and had benefitted by the fact that the whole of the text is not only “extremely simple and uniform” in its construction, so that lost passages “may be restored with a very high degree of probability” (Rawlinson 1847, xlvi), but is also at hand in several versions, of which especially the Elamite one is in a rather good state of preservation and at the same time in close agreement with the Old Persian text. At his last visit to Bisitun in the autumn of 1847, when he returned in order to obtain a copy of the Babylonian version, he “also carefully collated with the writing on the rock the whole of the Persian text, as it is lithographed in the Society's Journal [i.e., in Rawlinson 1847]” (Rawlinson 1850, I). This autographed text of 1847 is obviously out of scale, however, and unfortunately does not reproduce the exact proportions of the original as to signs and spaces. For those passages (mainly of column IV) which in Rawlinson 1850 are given in an entirely renewed form, there is not even any marked distinction between the plainly visible characters and those that are merely supplemented and thus more or less doubtful.

It may be added here that a large number of Rawlinson's note-books are kept in the Manuscript Collections of the British Library, among which those with the signatures “Add. MSS. 47619–47621” deal with the copying and deciphering of the Old Persian text of DB. Paper squeezes of the Bisitun inscriptions are preserved in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum; but of the squeezes of Old Persian inscriptions only those of DBb to DBj survive, whereas many others “were destroyed in the 1930s or 1940s, having supposedly disintegrated beyond repair or being deemed no longer worthy of retention” (C. B. F. Walker, Assistant Keeper of that Department, by letter dated November 23rd, 1988).

Though scholars had long realized that Rawlinson's copy of the Old Persian text of DB is not free from defect (cfr., e.g., Foy 1899, 33), the first attempt after Rawlinson to examine anew any part of the Bisitun inscriptions was not made until April 1903, when Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson climbed the rock up to the narrow ledge beneath the inscriptions. His intention was to collate and clarify some doubtful readings and difficult passages of the Old Persian text on the rock itself, chiefly those within reach or sight in the lower parts of columns I to IV, DB I-IV (cfr. Jackson 1903; 1906a; and 1906b). In addition, Jackson was the first to take some photographs of the Bisitun inscriptions (cfr. Jackson 1906a, after pp. 188 and 196).

Jackson (1903, 82f.; 1906a, 193f.) also confirmed that the reader gets practice in restoring lost characters by carefully examining "the indentures which the heavy stroke of the engraver's chisel had left in carving the character", since often dots or holes indicate the "heads" of the signs, even where the surface of the rock is effaced. Such experience had already been gained by Rawlinson himself by the time of his last visit to Bisitun, when he too found a great number of additions and corrections to his former readings. The whole process explains itself psychologically, as has been stressed by Weissbach 1924, 383, because, once a basic reading of the text has been obtained and conjectures proposed for the lacunae on the basis of the faint vestiges of signs or the space available, all attention and endeavour concentrate automatically on the doubtful passages, thus bringing to light the correct reading and interpretation. Likewise Cameron 1943, 115b, has emphasized, that "he who has ever struggled with a damaged inscription knows that often enough a mere suggestion as to what may once have appeared on the rock will permit him to discover additional and unexpected traces so that the complete text may be restored with absolute certainty".

In the spring of 1904 Leonard William King and Reginald Campbell Thompson obtained new and improved copies of nearly all the inscriptions at Mt. Bisitun, although originally they had aimed only at collating the Babylonian version of the text on the rock itself, on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, with a view to a revised edition of that version, because Rawlinson's paper squeezes alone turned out to be a rather inadequate basis for a new edition. Hanging down in a kind of boatswain's chair fastened by ropes from a rock shelf 40 m above the relief, they carefully reworked what Rawlinson had copied two generations before. They improved enormously on the previous readings of all the three versions

and thus created what was to be the standard edition of the cuneiform texts (King-Thompson 1907) for several decades, even though in numerous passages they were not able to read all the signs, while in others they restored the text erroneously if not in a quite impossible manner. All the later editions of Tolman 1908; Weissbach-Bang 1908; Weissbach 1911; Kent 1950; 1953, etc. are based on King-Thompson 1907. The text printed by them is set in type, however, and thus abandons all semblance of a hand copy; this means that the characters are out of scale and that the gaps are not indicated correctly.

Referring to Josef Markwart, Hinz 1939, 377, mentioned a new examination of the Bisitun monument by Russian scholars during World War I; about this, however, even Dandamaev 1963a, 29<sup>75</sup> (suspecting a confusion); 1976, 19<sup>75</sup>, knew no more than just the report of Hinz.

Feeling sure that a new collation of the entire text by another scholar would most likely bring further textual improvements, already Weissbach 1924, 383, demanded that new paper squeezes of these inscriptions be made, because on the one hand the old estampages made by Rawlinson seemed to have been destroyed ("anscheinend dem Zahn der Zeit oder den Zähnen der Mäuse zum Opfer gefallen", as Weissbach wrote in jest) and on the other hand the monument itself can only with difficulty be photographed, since the photographer has to take his stand either too low or too near. Therefore Hinz, l.c., required a scaffold to be erected, squeezes to be made of all the inscriptions, the whole of the monument and all the inscriptions to be photographed in detail, and all emendations of generations of previous scholars to be checked against the actual remains.

Most of these demands and several others were realized at an earlier time than could have been expected in 1939, for it fell to George G. Cameron (1905-1979) to fulfil this task. Like Hinz, Cameron 1943, 115b, had come to the conclusion that "obviously a new collation of all the materials is needed . . . if only to substantiate the brilliant suggestions for restoration of the extant text" (cfr. above). Being at the time Annual Professor of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research, during three weeks at Bisitun in the autumn of 1948 he made a thorough examination, not only of the entire Old Persian text but also of the other two versions, by means of a painter's scaffold, which was attached to cables and could be raised and lowered easily (cfr. his own account [of the technical problems, and of their solution] in Cameron 1950). Cameron checked the three versions of the main inscription which had already been read; copied for the first time the four columns of the



so-called first Elamite version to the right of the relief (previously regarded as completely illegible); rechecked in particular all previous readings of the Old Persian text; made latex squeezes of considerable sections of the inscriptions (including those previously inaccessible) – and also one of the left half of the relief panel with the figure of Darius himself; took photographs; and by all these operations obtained a great number of new readings for some difficult passages, in part previously undeciphered.

The great progress Cameron made was mainly the result of developing and applying new techniques for removing the limestone incrustations deposited on the rock and for making squeezes consisting of successive layers of liquid latex rubber, gauze, etc. All in all, Cameron solved many textual problems, publishing the more significant new readings of the Old Persian and the Elamite texts in Cameron 1951 and Cameron 1960 respectively. Unlike Rawlinson and King-Thompson he stated precisely the length of illegible gaps and tried to record exactly all the places where no characters had ever been inscribed because the surface of the rock was too rough and uneven.

It may be added here that the papers of George G. Cameron preserved in the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan have reference only to the period from 1952 onwards and therefore do not cover his work at Mt. Bisitun (Nancy R. Bartlett, Reference Archivist of that Library, by letter dated February 7th, 1990). The squeezes made at Bisitun came to the Kelsey Museum of Ancient and Mediaeval Archaeology of the same university only after Cameron's death and in a state of miserable deterioration, so that only one single segment has survived, the one covering the relief itself (Margaret Cool Root, Associate Curator of the Kelsey Museum, by letter dated January 23rd, 1990). To give an impression of these squeezes there is included here a photograph (the only one surviving) of Cameron's squeeze of DBa (see pl. 31), which must have been taken when the squeeze was fresh; it has been made available by Professor M. C. Root.

The new readings of Cameron were immediately incorporated into the Old Persian text included in the handbook published just then by Roland G. Kent (Kent 1950; 1953). This does not alter the fact, however, that Kent's main source on his own showing (p. 118a) is the text of King-Thompson 1907, and primarily their transcription, not the autographed text. Since Kent 1953 no new edition of DB has been published, the one by Sharp s.a. being absolutely useless, as it merely reproduces Kent's text (including the misprints) transcribed into cuneiform characters and into Sharp's own transcriptional system.

Meanwhile, the problems foreseen by Weissbach 1924, 383, concerning the photographic documentation of the Bisitun monument have finally been overcome by means of a scaffold erected there in 1963. Since the edition of all the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions for some time planned by Émile Benveniste (1902–1976) was never realized, it is only in the present volume that a complete edition of photographs of the Old Persian texts of both the major Bisitun inscription DB and the minor inscriptions DBa–k can be presented to the public.

Because the Old Persian text, as constituted, translated and interpreted by Kent 1953, has subsequently been emended on a great number of major or minor points, and because an up-to-date edition has thus become a more and more urgent desideratum, it has been decided to take the present opportunity to publish the text-edition proper together with the photographs. As to the text itself and the accompanying critical apparatus, it cannot be our task here, I think, to document exactly what is legible today (or was legible, when the photographs were taken in the winter of 1963–64), since in that case the number of characters which require to be put in brackets or half-brackets would have increased tremendously in relation to, e.g., King-Thompson 1907 and, in view of the unrelenting damage to the inscriptions, would continue to grow from one edition to the next.

# THE OLD PERSIAN TEXT

## Column I

1 : a-d-m : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-z-r-k : x-š-a-y-θ-i-[y : x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y-  
2 a-n-a-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y [ : ] p-a-r-s-i-y : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : d-h-[y-u-n-a-m : ] vi-š-t-  
3 a-s-p-h-y-a : p-u-ç : a-r-š-a-m-h-y-a : n-p-a : h-x-a-m-n-i-š-[i-y ●● : θ]-a-t-i-y :  
4 d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : m-n-a : p-i-t-a : vi-š-t-a-s-p : vi-š-t-a-s-p-[h-y-a : p-i-t]-a : a-r-š-  
5 a-m : a-r-š-a-m-h-y-a : p-i-t-a : a-r-i-y-a-r-m-n : a-r-i-y-a-r-m-n-h-y-a : p-i-t-[a : c-i-š-p-i-š] : c-i-š-p-  
6 a-i-š : p-i-t-a : h-x-a-m-n-i-š ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y : a-v]-h-y-r-a-  
7 di-i-y : v-y-m : h-x-a-m-n-i-š-i-y-a : θ-h-y-a-m-h-y : h-c-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-[i-y-t : ] a-m-a-t-a : a-m-  
8 h-y : h-c-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y-t : h-y-a : a-m-a-x-m : t-u-m-a : x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y-a : a]-h ●● : θ-  
9 a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : VIII : m-n-a : t-u-m-a-y-[a : t-y-i]-y : [p]-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m  
10 : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a : a-h : a-d-m : n-v-m : IX : d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-a-p-r-n-m [ : v-y-m : ] x-š-a-y-θ-i-  
11 y-a : a-m-h-y ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-[š-n-a : ] a-u-r-m-z-d-  
12 a-h : a-d-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : x-š-ç-m : m-n-a [ : f-r]-a-b-r ●● : θ-  
13 a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : t-y-a : m-n-a [ : p-t]-i-y-a-i-š : v-š-n-  
14 a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : [a]-d-m-š-a-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-h-m : p-a-r-s : u-v-j [ : b]-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-  
15 θ-u-r-a : a-r-b-a-y [ : ] m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y : t-y-i-y : d-r-y-h-y-a : s-p-r-d : y-u-n [ : m-a-d ] : a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-i-n : k-t-  
16 p-t<sup>u</sup>-u-k : p-r-θ-v : z-r-k : h-r-i-v : u-v-a-r-z-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : b-a-x-t-r-i-š : [s-u-g<sup>u</sup>]-u-d : g-d-a-r : s-  
17 k : θ-t-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : h-[r]-u-v-t-i-š : m-k : f-r-h-r-v-m : d-h-y-a-v : XXIII ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-  
18 y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : t-y-a : m-n-a : p-t-i-[y-a-i-š] : v-š-n-a : a-u-  
19 r-m-z-d-a-h : m-[n]-a : b-d-k-a : a-h-t-a : m-n-a : b-a-j<sup>i</sup>-i-m : a-b-r-t-a [ : t-y]-š-a-m : h-c-a-m

A small fissure crossing the upper left of the inscribed area diagonally from line 1 to line 41 has caused several vacant spaces, e.g. in the following lines: 2 : ● p, 3 r ● š, 4 i ● y, 5 t-a ● : a, 6 n ● i, 7 n ● i, 8 y ● t, 9 š ● : x, 10 a ● h, 11 θ ● a, 12 y ● θ, 13 u ● š, 20 š ● p. In some other places besides a short space has been left blank because of an unevenness of the surface, e.g. in lines 26 a-u ● r-m, 27 θ ● i-y, 30 h ● m-p-i-t ●● a, 37 y ● x, 38 r-h ● y-a, 40 a ● b ●● i-y.

The beginning of a new section (with the phrase /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya/) is always indicated by a blank space for two characters (●●).

Particular notes concerning the reading and the restitution of the text:

- 1 x-š-a-y-θ-i-[y KT,W,K, -θ-i-y R;
- 2 d-h-[y-u-n-a-m : ] vi-š-t- KT,W,K, d-h-y-[u- R;
- 3 h-x-a-m-n-i-š-[i-y : θ]-a-t-i-y KT,W,K, -n-i-[š-i-y : θ-a]-t-i-y R;
- 4 vi-š-t-a-s-p-[h-y-a : p-i-t]-a : KT,W,K, -s-p-h-y-a [ : p-i-t-a : ] R;
- 5 p-i-t-[a : c-i-š-p-i-š] : KT,W,K, whereas R has wrong readings and restorations;
- 6 x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y : a-v]-h-y-r-a- KT,W,K, x-š-a-y-θ-[i-y : a-v-h]-y-r-a- R;
- 7 p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-[i-y-t : a]-m-a-t-a KT,W, -vi-[i-y-t : ] a-m- K (following Cameron 1951, 49a), p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-[vi-i-y-t : a-m-a]-t-a R;
- 8 VIII has obviously been damaged by a modern rifleman's shot and is legible only in part || x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y-a : a]-h KT,W,K, x-š-a-[y-θ- R;

- 9 t-u-m-a-y-[a : t-y-i]-y : [p]-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m KT,W,K, -m-a-[y-a... p]-r<sup>u</sup>-u- R;
- 10 d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-a-p-r-n-m [ : v-y-m : ] x-š-a-y-θ-i- KT,W,K, -t-a-t(sic)-r-n-m [ : v-y-m : x-š]-a-y- R;
- 11 v-[š-n-a : ] a-u-r-m-z-d- KT,W,K, v-[š-n-a : a-u-r]-m-z-d- R;
- 12 m-n-a [ : f-r]-a-b-r KT,W,K, m-[n-a : f-r-a-b-r] R;
- 13 m-n-a [ : p-t]-i-y-a-i-š KT,W,K, m-[n-a : p-t-i]-y-a-i-š R; ... c-a-i-š (as proposed by Gernot Windfuhr *apud* Cameron 1973, 48f.<sup>12</sup>) seems to be excluded by unambiguous traces of -y- (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 11f.);
- 14 [a]-d-m-š-a-m KT,W,K, a-d-m- R || u-v-j [ : b]-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š KT,W,K, u-[v-j : b-a-b-i]-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š R;
- 15 y-u-n-[a : m-a-d] KT,W, y-u-n [ : m-a-d] K (following Meillet-Benveniste 1931, 202), y-u-[n-a ... R (not sufficiently filling the gap; but see the addenda in Rawlinson 1850, I);
- 16 [s-u-g<sup>u</sup>]-u-d KT,W,K, -r-i-[š : s-u-g<sup>u</sup>-d]-a R (abandoned in Rawlinson 1850, If.);
- 17 h-[r]-u-v-t-i-š KT,W,K, h-r-u-v- R || XXIII : θ-a-t-i-y KT,W,K, [XXIII : θ-a-t]-i-y R;
- 18 p-t-i-[y-a-i-š] : KT,W,K, p-t-i-[y-a-i-š : v]-š-n-a R;
- 19 m-[n]-a KT,W,K, m-n-a R || a-b-r-t-a [ : t-y]-š-a-m KT,W,K, -t-a [ : y-θ-a-š-a]-m R (wrongly);

20 : a-θ-h-y : x-š-p-v-a : r-u-c-p-t-i-v-a : a-v : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-y-t-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-  
 21 u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-t-r : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : m-r-t-i-y : h-y : a-g-r-i-y : a-h : a-y-m : u-  
 22 b-r-t-m : a-b-r-m [ʰ] h-y : a-r-i-k : a-h : a-v-m : u-f-r-s-t-m : a-p-r-s-m : v-š-n-[a] : a-u-r-m-z-d-ā-  
 23 h : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : t-y-n-a : m-n-a : d-a-t-a : a-p-r-i-y-a-y : y-θ-a-š-a-m : h-c-a-m : a-θ-h-  
 24 y : [a]-v-θ-a : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-y-t-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-  
 25 m-[i-y :] i-m : x-š-ç-m : f-r-a-b-r : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : y-a-t-a : i-m : x-š-ç-m :  
 26 h-[m]-d-a-r-y-i-[y] : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : i-m : x-š-ç-m : d-a-r-y-a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y ●● : θ-a-  
 27 t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : p-s-a-v : y-θ-a : x-š-  
 28 a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v-m : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : n-a-m : k<sup>u</sup>-u-r-u-š : p-u-ç : a-m-a-x-m : t-u-m-a-y-  
 29 a : h-[u-v] : [p-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v-m : i-d-a : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-h : a-v-h-y-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-h-y-a : b-r-a-  
 30 t-[a : b-r-di-i]-y : n-a-m : a-h : h-m-a-t-a : h-m-p-i-t-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-h-y-a : p-s-a-v : k-  
 31 b-[u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y :] a-v-m : b-r-di-i-y-m : a-v-a-j : y-θ-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : b-r-di-i-y-m : a-v-a-j : k-a-r-h-y-  
 32 [a : n-i-y :] a-z-d-a : a-b-v : t-y : b-r-di-i-y : a-v-j-t : p-s-a-v : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y-m  
 33 [ : a-š-i-y]-v : y-θ-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y-m : a-š-i-y-v : p-s-a-v : k-a-r : a-r-i-k : a-b-v  
 34 [ : u-t-a] : d-r-u-g : d-h-y-u-v-a : v-s-i-y : a-b-v : u-t-a : p-a-r-s-i-y : u-t-a : m-a-d-i-y : u-t-  
 35 [a : a]-n-i-y-a-u-v-a : d-h-y-u-š-u-v-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-  
 36 [s-a-v] : l m-r-t-i-y : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-h : g-u-m-a-t : n-a-m : h-u-v : u-d-p-t-t-a : h-c-a : p-i-š-i-  
 37 [y-a]-u-v-a-d-a-y-a : a-r-k-d-r-i-š : n-a-m : k-u-f : h-c-a : a-v-d-š : v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-x-n-h-y : m-a-h-  
 38 [y]-a : XIV : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : y-di-i-y : u-d-p-t-t-a : h-u-v : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a  
 39 [ : a]-d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-d-m : b-r-di-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : h-y : k<sup>u</sup>-u-r-u-š : p-u-ç : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-h-y-a : b-r-  
 40 [a]-t-a : p-s-a-v : k-a-r : h-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y : a-b-v : h-c-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-a : a-b-i-y : a-v-m :  
 41 [a]-š-i-y-v : u-t-a : p-a-r-s : u-t-a : m-a-d : u-t-a : a-n-i-y-a : d-h-y-a-v : x-š-ç-m : h-u-v  
 42 : a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a : g-r-m-p-d-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : IX : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a : x-š-  
 43 ç-m : a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a : p-s-a-v : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : u-v-a-m-r-š-i-y-u-š : a-m-r-i-y-t-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y  
 44 : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-i-t : x-š-ç-m : t-y : g-u-m-a-t : h-y : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-di-i-n-  
 45 a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-m : a-i-t : x-š-ç-m : h-c-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y-t : a-m-a-x-m : t-u-m-a-y-a : a-

20 : [d-a-r]-y-v- KT,W,K, [ : θ-a-t-i-y : d]-a-r-y-v-u-š R (thus for the end of line 20), :  
 θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v- here according to the photograph;  
 21 a-g-r[+ - +] KT,W, a-g-r-i-y K (following Cameron 1951, 49a), a-g-t-[a : a-h] R;  
 22 v-š-n-[a] KT,W,K, [ : v-š-n-a] R;  
 23 y-θ-a-š-a-m : h-c-a-m KT,W,K, -š-[a-m : h]-c- R;  
 24 [a]-v-θ-a KT,W,K, a-v-θ-a R || x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a- KT,W,K, -θ-[i-y :  
 a]-u-r- R;  
 25 m-[i-y :] i-m KT,W,K, whereas R wrongly has [ : ] m-n-a (sic) || y-a-t-a : i-m  
 KT,W,K, -t-a : [i]-m R;  
 26 h-[m]-d-a-r-y-i-[y] KT,W,K, whereas R wrongly has [a-d]-a-r-y;  
 27 -t-i-y KT,W,K, -[t-i-y] R || p-s-a-v KT,W,K, already Rawlinson 1850, II (abandon-  
 ing p-[r-i]-v);  
 29 h-[u-v] : [p-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v-m : i-d-a here according to the photograph (cfr. Schmitt 1990,  
 16f.), contrary to h-u-v-m : i-d-a KT ("certain"), W,K, [p-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v-m : i-d-a R (both  
 restorations being far too short);

30 t-[a : b-r-di-i]-y KT,W,K, [t-a] : b-r-di-i-y R;  
 31 b-[u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y :] a]-v-m KT,W,K, [b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i]-y : a-v-m R; . . . y :] a-v-m here;  
 32 [a : n-i-y :] a-z-d-a KT,W,K, whereas R wrongly has only [a : a]-z-d-a (sic);  
 33 [ : a-š-i-y]-v KT,W,K, [a-š-i]-y-v R;  
 34 [ : p-s-a-v] : KT,W,K, [ : p-s-a]-v R, but [ : u-t-a] : according to Gershevitch 1983,  
 52<sup>4</sup> (because of Elam. *ku-ud-da*; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 17f.);  
 35 [a : a-n]-i-y-a-u-v-a R,KT,W,K, whereas the photograph plainly shows the *n* and  
 suggests that there was a vacant space within the supplemented text owing to the  
 fissure mentioned above (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 18);  
 36 [s-a-v] : R,KT,W,K;  
 37 [y-a]-u-v-a-d-a-y-a R,KT,W,K;  
 38 [y-a] : R,KT,W,K, [y]-a : here according to the photograph (perhaps even [y ●] a?);  
 39 [ : a]-d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y R,KT,W,K;  
 40 [a]-t-a R,KT,W,K;  
 41 [a]-š-i-y-v R,KT,W,K;

46 h : p-s-a-v : g-u-m-a-t : h-y : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-n-a : k-b-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-m : u-t-a : p-a-r-s-m : u-t-a  
 47 : m-a-d-m : u-t-a : a-n-i-y-a : d-h-y-a-v : h-u-v : a-y-s-t-a : u-v-a-i-p-š-i-y-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-t-a : h-u-  
 48 v : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : n-i-y : a-h : m-r-t-i-y :  
 49 n-i-y : p-a-r-s : n-i-y : m-a-d : n-i-y : a-m-a-x-m : t-u-m-a-y-a : k-š-c-i-y : h-y : a-v-m : g-u-  
 50 m-a-t-m : t-y-m : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-m : x-š-ç-m : d<sup>i</sup>-i-t-m : c-x-r-i-y-a : k-a-r-š-i-m : h-c-a : d-r-š-m : a-  
 51 t-r-s : k-a-r-m : v-s-i-y : a-v-a-j-n-i-y-a : h-y : p-r-n-m : b-r-d<sup>i</sup>-i-y-m : a-d-a-n-a : a-v-h-y-r-  
 52 a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-y : k-a-r-m : a-v-a-j-n-i-y-a : m-a-t-y-m-a-m : x-š-n-a-s-a-t-i-y : t-y : a-d-m : n-i-y : b-r-d<sup>i</sup>-  
 53 i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : h-y : k<sup>u</sup>-u-r-u-š : p-u-ç : k-š-c-i-y : n-i-y : a-d-r-š-n-u-š : c-i-š-c-i-y : θ-s-t-n-  
 54 i-y : p-r-i-y : g-u-m-a-t-m : t-y-m : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-m : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : a-r-s-m : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : a-u-r-  
 55 m-z-<d>-a-m : p-t-i-y-a-v-h-y-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : b-a-g-y-a-d-i-š :  
 56 m-a-h-y-a : X : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a : a-d-m : h-d-a : k-m-n-i-b-i-š : m-r-t-i-y-i-b-i-  
 57 š : a-v-m : g-u-m-a-t-m : t-y-m : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-v-a-j-n-m : u-t-a : t-y-i-š-i-y : f-r-t-m-a : m-r-  
 58 t-i-y-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a : a-h-t-a : s-i-k-<y>-u-v-t-i-š : n-a-m-a : d<sup>i</sup>-i-d-a : n-i-s-a-y : n-a-  
 59 m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-a-d-i-y : a-v-d-š-i-m : a-v-a-j-n-m : x-š-ç-m-š-i-m : a-d-m : a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-n-m : v-  
 60 š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : a-d-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v-m : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : x-š-ç-m : m-n-a : f-r-  
 61 a-b-r ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : x-š-ç-m : t-y : h-c-a : a-m-a-x-m : t-  
 62 u-m-a-y-a : p-r-a-b-r-t-m : a-h : a-v : a-d-m : p-t-i-p-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : a-d-m-š-i-m : g-a-θ-  
 63 v-a : a-v-a-s-t-a-y-m : y-θ-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m-c-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : a-y-d-n-  
 64 a : t-y-a : g-u-m-a-t : h-y : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-k : a-d-m : n-i-y-ç-a-r-y-m : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-b-i-  
 65 c-r-i-š : g-i-θ-a-m-c-a : m-a-n-i-y-m-c-a : v<sup>i</sup>-θ-b-i-š-c-a : t-y-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-š : g-u-m-a-t : h-[y :]  
 66 m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-n-a : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : g-a-θ-v-a : a-v-a-s-t-a-y-m : p-a-r-s-m-<sup>⌈c</sup>-a : m-a-d-m-[c]-  
 67 a : u-t-a : a-n-i-y-a : d-h-y-a-v : y-θ-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m-c-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-d-m : t-y : p-r-ā-b-[r-t]-  
 68 m : p-t-i-y-a-b-r-m : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : i-m : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : a-d-m : h-m-t-x-<sup>⌈š</sup>-[i-y :]  
 69 y-a-t-a : v<sup>i</sup>-θ-m : t-y-a-m : a-m-a-x-m : g-a-θ-v-a : a-v-a-s-t-a-y-m : y-θ-a : [p-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v-m-[c-i]-y :  
 70 a-v-θ-a : a-d-m : h-m-t-x-š-i-y : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : y-θ-a : g-u-m-a-t : h-y : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-  
 71 š : v<sup>i</sup>-θ-m : t-y-a-m : a-m-a-x-m : n-i-y : p-r-a-b-r ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-  
 72 i-y : i-m : t-y : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : p-s-a-v : y-θ-a : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y  
 73 : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : y-θ-a : a-d-m : g-u-m-a-t-m : t-y-m : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-v-a-j-n-m : p-  
 74 s-a-v : I m-r-t-i-y : a-ç-i-n : n-a-m : u-p-d-r-m-h-y-a : p-u-ç : h-u-v : u-d-p-t-[t-a : u-v-j-i]-  
 75 y : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : u-v-j-i-y : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : p-[s-a-v :] u-v-  
 76 j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-a : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a : a-b-v : a-b-i-y : a-v-m [: a]-ç-i-n-m : a-š-i-y-v : h-u-v : x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y]

55 m-z-a-m (plainly visible on the rock) by mistake instead of m-z-<d>-a-m "with omission of the *d*" (Kent, referring to KT), whereas R had printed m-z-d-a-m || p-t-i-y-a-v-h-y-i-y KT (confirming the second y as being "certain"), W,K (referring also to Jackson 1906a, 196; 1906b, 190), -v-h-i-y R;  
 58 s-i-k-<y>-u-v-t-i-š KT,W,K, s-i-k-θ-u-v- R (the form with θ written on the rock by mistake for y having been corrected first by KT; cfr. Schmitt 1980a, 120f.);  
 65 v<sup>i</sup>-θ-b-i-š-c-a KT,W,K (and first Jackson 1903, 84f.), v<sup>i</sup>-θ-i(*sic*)-b-i-š-[c]-a R || h-[y :] KT,W,K, h-y : R;

66 p-a-r-s-m-[c]-a R,KT,W,K, -s-m-<sup>⌈c</sup>-a here || m-a-d-m-[c]- R,KT,W,K, whereas WB by mistake have in the printed text (but not in the autograph) m-a-d-m-c-;  
 67 p-r-a-b-[r-t]- R,KT,W,K;  
 68 h-m-t-x-[š-i-y :] R,KT,W,K, -x-<sup>⌈š</sup>-[i-y :] here;  
 69 [p-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v-m-[c-i]-y KT,W,K, p-r<sup>u</sup>-[u]-v-[m]-c-[i-y R];  
 74 u-d-p-t-[t-a : u-v-j-i]- R,KT,W,K;  
 75 p-[s-a-v :] u-v- KT,W,K, p-[s-a-v : u-v- R;  
 76 [: a]-ç-i-n-m KT,W,K, a-ç-i- R || x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y R,KT,W,K;

- 77 : a-b-v : u-v-j-i-y : u-t-a : I m-r-t-i-y : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y : n-di-i-t-b-i-r : n-a-m : a-i-n-[i-r]-h-y-  
 78 a : p-u-ç : h-u-v : u-d-p-t-t-a : b-a-b-i-r-u-v : k-a-r-m : a-v-θ-a : a-du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-ji-i-y : a-d-m : n-b-  
 79 u-ku-d-r-c-r : a-mi-i-y : h-y : n-b-u-n-i-t-h-y-a : p-u-ç : p-s-a-v : k-a-r : h-y : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y  
 80 : h-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : n-di-i-t-b-i-r-m : a-š-i-y-v : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š : h-mi-i-ç-i-y : a-b-v : x-  
 81 š-ç-m : t-y : b-a-b-i-r-u-v : h-u-v : a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-  
 82 θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : u-v-j-m : h-u-v : a-ç-[i]-n : b-s-t : a-n-y-t-a : a-[b-i-y : m]-a-  
 83 m : a-d-m-š-i-m : a-v-a-j-n-m •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : b-a-  
 84 b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-š-i-y-v-m : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : n-di-i-t-b-i-r-m : h-y : n-b-u-ku-d-r-c-r : a-g-[u-b-t]-a  
 85 : k-a-r : h-y : n-di-i-t-b-i-r-h-y-a : t-i-g-r-a-m : a-d-a-r-y : a-v-d-a : a-i-š-t-t-a : u-t-a :  
 86 a-b-i-š : n-a-vi-i-y-a : a-h : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : m-š-k-a-u-v-a : a-v-a-k-n-m : a-n-i-y-m : u-š-  
 87 b-a-r-i-m : a-ku-u-n-v-m : a-n-i-y-h-y-a : a-s-m : f-r-a-n-y-m : a-u-r-<sup>u</sup>m-z<sup>u</sup>-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-<sup>u</sup>t<sup>u</sup>-a-m  
 88 : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : t-i-g-r-a-m : vi-i-y-t-r-y-a-m-a [ : a ]-v-d-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m :  
 89 t-y-m : n-di-i-t-b-i-r-h-y-a : a-d-m : a-j-n-m : v-s-i-y : a-ç-[i]-y-a-di-i-y-[h-y : ] m-a-h-y-a : XXXVI : r-u-  
 90 c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-[v]-θ-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-m-<sup>u</sup>a<sup>u</sup> •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-  
 91 š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-[d]-m : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-š-i-y-v-m : a-θ-i-y : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-[m : y-θ-a : n-i]-<sup>u</sup>y : u<sup>u</sup>-p-  
 92 a-y-m : z-a-z-a-h : n-a-m : v-r-d-n-m : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-v : u-f-r-a-t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a : a-v-d-a [ : h-u-v : n ]-di-i-t-  
 93 b-i-r : h-y : n-b-u-ku-d-r-c-r : a-g-u-b-t-a : a-i-š : h-d-a : k-a-r-a : p-t-i-š : [m-a-m : h-m-r-n]-m :  
 94 c-r-t-n-i-y : p-s-a-v : h-m-<sup>u</sup>r-n<sup>u</sup>-m : a-ku-u-m-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r [ : v-š-n-a : a-u-r ]-m-  
 95 z-d-a-h : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : n-di-i-t-b-i-r-h-y-a : a-d-m : a-j-n-m : v-s-i-y : a-n-i-y : a-p-i-<sup>u</sup>y<sup>u</sup>-a : [a]-h-[y-t]-a [ : ] a-  
 96 p-i-š-i-m : p-r-a-b-r : a-n-a-m-k-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : II : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a : h-m-[r-n-m : a]-<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>-u-m-a

- 77 a-i-n-[i-r]-h-y KT, W, K, whereas R had not yet been able to fill in the gap;  
 82 a-ç-[i]-n KT, W, K, a-ç-i-[n] R || a-[b-i-y : m]-a- KT, W, K, [a-b-i-y : m-a]- R, whereas  
 WB print the text as if all signs were assured (cfr. Rawlinson 1850, II);  
 84 a-g-[u-b-t]-a KT, W, K, a-g-u-[b-t-a] R;  
 86 : u-š- KT, W, K, : d-š- R (confounding *u* with *d*);  
 87 a-u-r-[m-z]-d-a-m-i-y KT, W, K, a-u-r-m-z-d- R, a-u-r-<sup>u</sup>m-z<sup>u</sup>-d- here (since traces  
 of *m* and *z* are visible on the photograph) || u-p-s-[t]-a-m KT, W, K, u-p-s-[t-a-m  
 R, u-p-s-<sup>u</sup>t<sup>u</sup>-a-m here according to the photograph;  
 88 [ : a ]-v-d-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m KT (confirming this reading as "certain"), W, K,  
 + - -a - + -m : a-v-m : k-a-r-m R (though suggesting p-s-a-v), whereas WB origi-  
 nally had [p-s]-a-v : a-v-d-a : k-a-r-m (which they abandoned in the addenda of 1908,  
 XI);  
 89 a-ç-[i]-y-a-di-i-y-[h-y : ] KT, W, K, a-ç-[i-y]-a-di-i-y-[h-y] : R;  
 90 a-[v-θ]-a KT, W, K, a-v-θ-a R, a-[v]-θ-a here || a-ku-u-m-[a] KT, W, K, -u-m-a R,

- u-m-<sup>u</sup>a<sup>u</sup> here according to the photograph;  
 91 a-[d]-m R, KT, W, K || b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-[m : y-θ-a : n-i-y : u]-p- KT (though printing  
 ... u-p]- in spite of discovering traces of *p*), W, K, -r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : y-[θ-a ... R, -r<sup>u</sup>-u-[m  
 : y-θ-a : n-i]-<sup>u</sup>y : u<sup>u</sup>-p- here according to the faint traces visible on the photograph;  
 92 u-f-r-a-t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a KT, W, K, whereas R wrongly had u-f-r-a-t(*sic*)-u-v-a || [ : h-u-v :  
 n ]-di-i-t- KT, W, K, ... n-di-i-t]- R;  
 93 [m-a-m : h-m-r-n]-m : KT, W, K, m-[a-m] R;  
 94 h-m-[r-n]-m KT, W, K, h-m-r-n-m R, h-m-<sup>u</sup>r-n<sup>u</sup>-m here || [ : v-š-n-a : a-u-r ]-m-  
 KT, W, K, a-[b-r : v- R;  
 95 a-p-i-[y]-a KT, W, K, a-p-i-y-a R, a-p-i-<sup>u</sup>y<sup>u</sup>-a here || [ : a-h-y-t]-a W, [ : a ]-h-[y-t]-a  
 K, [ : a-h-r-t]-a KT (with a wrong emendation), [ : + -h- + - + ]-a R;  
 96 h-m-[r-n-m : a-ku]-u-m-a KT, W, K, a-[v-θ-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-m]-a R,  
 a]-<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>-u-m-a here according to the photograph.

## Column II

- 1 : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y [ : p-s-a]-v : n-dī-i-t-b-i-r : h-  
 2 d-a : k-m-n-i-b-i-š : a-s-b-a-r-i-b-i-š : a-<sup>u</sup> [u-θ : b-a-b]-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-š-i-y-  
 3 v : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-š-i-y-v-m : [v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d]-a-h : u-t-a : b-a-  
 4 b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-g-r-b-a-y-m : u-t-a : a-v-m : n-dī-i-t-b-[i-r-m : a-g-r-b-a-y]-m : p-s-a-v : a-v-  
 5 m : n-dī-i-t-b-i-r-m : a-d-m : b-a-b-i-r-u-v : a-v-a-j-[n-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d]-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-  
 6 š-a-y-θ-i-y : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : b-a-b-i-r-u-v : a-h-[m : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : ] t-y-a : h-c-a-m : h-  
 7 mī-i-ç-i-y-a : a-b-v : p-a-r-s : u-v-j : m-a-d : a-θ-[u-r-a : m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y : p-r]-θ-v : m-r-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : θ-  
 8 t-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : s-k ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y : I m-r-t-i]-y : m-r-t-i-y : n-a-  
 9 m : c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š : p-u-ç : k<sup>u</sup>-u-g-n-k-a : n-a-[m : v-r-d-n-m : p-a-r-s-i-y] : a-v-d-a : a-d-a-r-y :  
 10 h-u-v : u-d-p-t-t-a : u-v-j-i-y : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-[v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : ] i-m-n-i-š : a-mī-i-y : u-  
 11 v-j-i-y : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š [ : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : ] a-d-k-i-y : a-d-m : a-š-n-  
 12 i-y : a-h-m : a-b-i-y : u-v-j-m : p-s-a-v : h-c-a-[m : a-t-r-s : u-v]-j-i-y-a : a-v-m : m-r-t-i-  
 13 y-m : a-g-r-b-a-y : h-y-š-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t : a-h : <sup>u</sup> [t-a-š-i-m : a-v]-a-j-n ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-  
 14 a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : I m-r-t-i-y : f-r-[v-r-t-i-š : n-a-m : m-a-d] : h-u-v : u-d-p-t-t-  
 15 a : m-a-d-i-y : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : [a-d-m : x-š-θ-r-i-t : a]-<sup>u</sup> [mī-i-y : u-v-x-š-t-r-h-  
 16 y-a : t-u-m-a-y-a : p-s-a-v : k-a-r : m-a-d : h-y : [vī-θ-a-p-t-i-y : h-u-v] : h-c-a-m : h-mī-i-ç-i-y : a-  
 17 b-v : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : f-r-v-r-t-i-m : a-š-i-y-v : h-u-v [ : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y] : a-b-v : m-a-d-i-y ●● :  
 18 θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : k-a-r : p-a-r-s : u-[t-a : m]-a-d : h-y : u-p-a : m-a-m : a-  
 19 h : h-u-v : k-m-n-m : a-h : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : f-r-a-i-š-[y-m : vī-i]-d-r-n : n-a-m : p-a-r-s : m-n-

On the whole the text of column II has been damaged much more in the course of time than that of column I, especially the central part of each line. This heavy damage is caused by streams of water gushing down after every rain.

In an even worse condition are the very last lines of this column, of which many passages can only be restored on the basis of the Elamite version (which renders the Old Persian wording, as is well known, by and large verbatim).

Particular notes concerning the reading and the restitution of the text:

- 1 [ : p-s-a]-v KT,W,K, x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : n-dī-i]-t-b-i-r R;  
 2 a-[m<sup>u</sup>-u-θ : b-a-b]-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m K, a-m<sup>u</sup>-[u-θ : b-a]-b-i- W (following Hüsing's emendation; cfr. his note), a-<sup>u</sup> [u-θ : b-a-b]-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m KT, a-[b-i-y : b-a-b-i]-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m R, a-<sup>u</sup> [u-θ here (according to the traces visible, whilst Cameron 1951, 49ab, had remarked that the initial a- is no longer discernible);  
 3 : [v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d]-a-h KT,W,K, a-š-[i-y-v-m ... d]-a-h R;  
 4 n-dī-i-t-b-[i-r-m : a-g-r-b-a-y]-m KT,W,K, -b-i-[r-m R; on the photograph there are visible only a-v-m [ : n-dī]-i-t-b-[, obviously as the result of a rifleman's shot || p ●● s-a-v on the rock;  
 5 a-v-a-j-[n-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d]-a-r-y-v-u-š KT,W,K, ... θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r- R; similarly to line 4, only parts of the initial a-v- in a-v-a-j-[n-m are preserved;  
 6 a-h-[m : i-m-a : d-h-y-a-v : ] t-y-a KT,W,K, a-h-m : i-[m-a ... t]-y-a R;  
 7 a-θ-[u-r-a : m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y : p-r]-θ-v KT (who according to their note 1 should rather have written a-θ-<sup>u</sup> [r-a and p]-<sup>u</sup> [r-θ-v), K, a-θ-u-r-[a W, a-θ-u-r-a : [a-r-mī-i-n : p-r-θ]-v R;

- 8 x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y : I m-r-t-i]-y KT,W,K, x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y R;  
 9 c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š here (according to the actual writing; see Schmitt 1990, 22), c-i-c-i-x-r-a-i-š R,KT,W,K || n-a-[m : v-r-d-n-m : p-a-r-s-i-y] : KT,W,K, n-a-m : v-r-[d-n-m R;  
 10 a-[v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : ] KT,W,K, a-v-θ-a [ : a-θ- R;  
 11 d-a-r-y-v-u-š [ : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : ] KT,W,K, d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-[θ-i-y : + - +]-k-i-y R, and even x-š-a-y-θ-[i-y WB (but -<sup>u</sup> [i- in the autographed text) || a-d-k-i-y R (see Rawlinson 1847, xlviif.), KT,W,K;  
 12 h-c-a-[m : a-t-r-s : u-v]-j-i-y-a KT,W,K, h-c-a-m [ : ... u-v-j]-i-y-a R || the initial a- in a-v-m is no longer extant, obviously in consequence of a rifleman's shot;  
 13 : <sup>u</sup> [t-a-š-i-m here (from faint traces of the initial angle of u), [u-t-a-š-i-m : a-v]-a-j-n KT,W,K, though R had only ]-n;  
 14 f-r-[v-r-t-i-š : n-a-m : m-a-d] R,KT,W,K, f-r-v-[r-t-i-š WB (-<sup>u</sup> [r- in the autograph);  
 15 a]-<sup>u</sup> [mī-i-y here (part of mī being legible), : [a-d-m : x-š-θ-r-i-t : a-mī]-i-y R,KT,W,K;  
 16 [vī-θ-a-p-t-i-y : h-u-v] W (referring to DB III 26f. and the Elamite version), K, [vī-θ-a-p-t-i-y : a-h] KT, ... a-h : h]-c-a-m R;  
 17 h-u-v [ : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y] : KT,W,K, [h-u-v ... a]-b-v R;  
 18 u-[t-a : m]-a-d KT,W,K, k-a-[r ... m-a-d : ] R;  
 19 f-r-a-i-š-[y-m : vī-i]-d-r-n KT,W,K, k-a-r-[m ... vī-i-d-r-n : ] R;

20 a : b-d-k : a-v-m-š-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-ku-u-n-v-m : a-v-θ-a-š-[a-m : a-θ]-h-m : p-r-i-t-a : a-v-m : k-  
 21 a-r-m : t-y-m : m-a-d-m : j-t-a : h-y : m-n-a : n-i-[y : g-u-b-t-i-y : p-s-a-v] : h-u-v : vi-i-d-r-n : h-  
 22 d-a : k-a-r-a : a-š-i-y-v : y-θ-a : m-a-d-m : p-r-a-r-s : m-a-[r<sup>u</sup>-u]-š : n-a-m : v-r-d-n-m : m-a-  
 23 d-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : h-d-a : m-a-d-[i-b-i]-š : h-y : m-a-d-i-š-u-v-a  
 24 : m-θ-i-š-t : a-h : h-u-v : a-d-k-i-y : n-i-y : a-v-d-a : a-h : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-  
 25 p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : [h-y : m]-[n<sup>l</sup>-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-  
 26 y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : a-n-a-m-k-h-y : m-a-h-[y]-a : XXVII : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-  
 27 a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m : p-s-a-v : h-u-v : [k-a]-r : h-y : m-n-a : k-p-d : n-a-m-  
 28 a : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-a-d-i-y : a-v-d-a : m-a-m : a-m-a-n-i-y : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : a-r-s-m : m-a-d-●●  
 29 m●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : d-a-d-r-š-i-š : n-a-m : a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-i-n-i-y : m-n-  
 30 a : b-d-k : a-v-m : a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-i-n-m : a-v-θ-a-š-i-y : a-θ-h-m : p-r-i-di-i-y : k-a-  
 31 r : h-y : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y : m-n-a : n-i-y : g-u-b-t-i-y : a-v-m : [j-di<sup>i</sup>]-i-y : p-s-a-v : d-a-d-r-š-i-  
 32 š : a-š-i-y-v : y-θ-a : a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-i-n-m : p-r-a-r-s : p-s-a-v : [h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç]-i-y-a : h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-  
 33 t-a : p-t-i-š : d-a-d-r-š-i-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : z-u-z-h-y : n-a-m : a-v-h-n-m : a-  
 34 r-m<sup>i</sup>-n-i-y-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-v : a-u-[r-m]-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-  
 35 b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-[m : k]-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m :  
 36 a-j : v-s-i-y : θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y : m-a-h-[y-a : ] VI[II : r-u-c-b-i]-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-  
 37 a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-[r-y]-v-u-[š : x-š-a]-y-[θ]-i-y : p-t-i-y : du-u-vi-  
 38 i-t-i-y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a : h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-t-[a : p]-t-i-š [ : d-a-d]-r-š-i-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-  
 39 n-i-y : t-i-g-r : n-a-m-a : di-i-d-a : a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-n-i-[y-i-y : ] a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-v : a-  
 40 u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-[m-z-d-a]-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-  
 41 v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-[i-y : θ-u-r-v-a]-h-r-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XVIII  
 42 : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-[r-t-m]●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-  
 43 v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-t-i-y : ç-i-t-i-y-m : h-[m<sup>i</sup>]-i-ç-[i-y-a : ] h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-t-a : p-t-

20 a-v-θ-a-š-[a-m : a-θ]-h-m KT,W,K, [a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : a-θ-h-m : ] R;  
 21 n-i-[y : g-u-b-t-i-y : p-s-a-v] R; one cannot very well imagine that this line alone  
 was fully legible to KT (who are followed, however, by W,K);  
 22 m-a-[r<sup>u</sup>-u]-š KT (see their note 1), W,K, m-[... : n-a]-m R;  
 23 h-m-r-n●● m on the rock || m-a-d-[i-b-i]-š KT,W,K, [h-d-a : ] m-a-[d-y(sic)-i-b-i-š  
 : h-y] R;  
 24 h-u-v : a-d-k-i-y : n-i-y : a-v-d-a : a-h K (following Cameron 1951, 49b, to whom  
 this text, which had been conjectured once by Tolman, was "clearly visible"), whereas  
 KT,W had read only traces of [a]-v-d-a : [ + ]-n/h (n or h) and R just -d-a;  
 25 [h-y : m]-[n<sup>l</sup>-a] KT (see their note 1), W,K, h-y : [vi-i-d-r-n-h-y-a : ] R;  
 26 m-a-h-[y]-a : XXVII : KT ("numeral 27 ... quite clear"), W,K, m-a-[h-y-a : ] VI  
 : R;  
 27 : [k-a]-r KT,W,K, [ : h-u-v : k-a-r : ] R;  
 28 m-a-m : a-m-a-n-i-y KT,W,K, whereas R has a wrong text || remarkable is the space  
 at the end of the line (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 22f.);  
 29 x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : d-a-d-r-š-i-š KT ("all the signs ... clear"), W,K, whereas R restored  
 -θ-i-[y : p-s-a-v : d-a-d-r-š-i-š : n-a]-m;  
 30 a-v-θ-a-š-i-y KT,W,K, [ : a-v-θ-a-š-i-y ... p-r]-i-di-i-y R;

31 : [j-di<sup>i</sup>]-i-y KT,W,K, [ : j-di<sup>i</sup>-i-y : p-s-a]-v R;  
 32 : [h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç]-i-y-a KT,W,K, -ç-i-y-a : ] R;  
 33 z-u-z-h-y K (following Cameron 1951, 49b), [ + - + - + - ]-y KT,W, whereas  
 Rawlinson 1847, xlix, regarded the word as "entirely lost";  
 34 r-m<sup>i</sup>-n-i-y-i-y KT,W,K, r-m(sic)-n- R (wrongly) || a-u-[r-m]-z-d-a-m-i-y KT,W,K,  
 a-u-[r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y] R;  
 35 a-v-[m : k]-a-r-m KT,W,K, m-[n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y]-m R;  
 36 m-a-h-[y-a : ] VI[II : r-u-c-b-i]-š KT,W,K, m-a-h-y-a : VI : r-[u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a]  
 R (with the correction to VIII on p. 218);  
 37 d-a-[r-y]-v-u-[š : x-š-a]-y-[θ]-i-y KT,W,K, d-a-[r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y] R;  
 38 p-r-i-t-[a : p]-t-i-š [ : d-a-d]-r-š-i-m KT,W,K, p-r-i-t-a : p-t-[i-š : d-a-d-r-š-i-m :  
 h-m-r]-n-m R;  
 39 a-r-m<sup>i</sup>-n-i-[y-i-y : ] KT,W,K, a-r-m(sic)-n-i-y-i-y [ : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a]-ku-u-  
 R (with the same mistake as in line 34);  
 40 a-u-r-[m-z-d-a]-h KT,W,K, [a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h]-y R;  
 41 v-s-[i-y : θ-u-r-v-a]-h-r-h-y KT,W,K, v-s-i-y [ : θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y : m]-a-h-y-a R;  
 42 k-[r-t-m] KT,W,K, h-m-r-[n-m : k-r-t-m●● : θ-a]-t-i-y R;  
 43 h-[m<sup>i</sup>]-i-ç-[i-y-a : ] KT,W,K, h-m<sup>i</sup>-[i-ç-i-y-a : h-g-m-t-a : ] R;

44 i-š : d-a-d-r-š-i-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : u-y-<sup>1</sup>v<sup>1</sup>-a : n-a-[m]-a : di-i-d-a : a-r-mi-n-i-y-i-y : a-  
 45 v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-[m] : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-  
 46 z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-mi-[i]-ç-i-[y-m] : [a]-j : v-s-i-y : θ-a-i-g-r-c-  
 47 i-š : m-a-h-y-a : IX : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-[θ-a-š]-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m : p-s-a-v  
 48 : d-a-d-r-š-i-š : c-i-t-a : m-a-m : a-m-a-n-y : a-r-[mi]-n-i-[y]-i-y : [y]-a-t-a : a-d-m : a-r-s-m : m-a-  
 49 d-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-u-mi-i-s : n-a-m : p-a-r-s : m-n-a : b-  
 50 d-k : a-v-m : a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : a-r-mi-i-n-m : a-v-θ-a-š-i-y : a-θ-h-m : p-r-i-di-i-y : k-a-r :  
 51 h-y : h-mi-i-ç-i-y : m-n-a : n-i-y : g-u-b-t-i-y : a-v-m : j-di-i-y : p-s-a-v : v-u-mi-i-s : a-  
 52 š-i-y-v : y-θ-a : a-r-mi-i-n-m : p-r-a-r-s : p-s-a-v : h-mi-i-[ç-i-y]-a : h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-t-a : p-  
 53 t-i-š : v-u-mi-i-s-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : i-z-l-a : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : a-θ-u-r-a-y-  
 54 a : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-[m]-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-  
 55 r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-[y-m] : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y :  
 56 a-n-a-m-k-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XV : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m :  
 57 k-r-t-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-t-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m : h-mi-  
 58 i-ç-i-y-a : h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-t-a : p-t-i-š : v-u-mi-i-s-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : a-u-  
 59 t-i-y-a-r : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : a-r-mi-i-n-i-y-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v :  
 60 a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-  
 61 n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y : m-a-h-  
 62 y-a : ji-i-y-m-n-m : p-t-i-y : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m : p-s-a-v : v-u-mi-i-s  
 63 : c-i-t-a : m-a-m : a-m-a-n-y : a-r-mi-i-n-i-y-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[y] : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : a-r-s-m : m-a-d-m  
 64 ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : n-i-j-a-y-m : h-c-a :  
 65 b-a-b-i-r-u-š : a-š-i-y-v-m : m-a-d-m : y-θ-a : m-a-d-m : p-r-a-r-s-m : k<sup>u</sup>-u-d<sup>u</sup>-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š : n-a-m :  
 66 v-r-d-n-m : m-a-d-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-u-v : f-r-v-r-t-i-š : h-y : m-a-d-i-y : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-  
 67 g-u-b-t-a : a-i-š : h-d-[a :] k-a-r-a : p-t-i-š : m-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : p-s-a-v : h-m-r-n-

44 u-y-m-a K (following Cameron 1951, 49b), u-[y-m]-a KT,W (not excluding u-[y-v]-  
 a), whereas R at first did not dare to fill in the gap; u-[h-y]-a-m Rawlinson 1850,  
 III; I prefer u-y-<sup>1</sup>v<sup>1</sup>-a here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 28-30), since the traces visible on  
 the photograph may well be of v (rather than m) || n-a-[m]-a KT,W,K, ... n-a-m-a  
 : di-i-d]-a R;  
 45 u-p-s-t-a-[m] KT,W,K, -d-a-[m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v]-š-n-a R;  
 46 h-mi-[i]-ç-i-[y-m] : [a]-j KT,W,K, t-y-[m ... a-j : v-s-i-y] R;  
 47 a-v-[θ-a-š]-a-m KT,W,K, [: a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m :] R;  
 48 a-r-[mi]-n-i-[y]-i-y : [y]-a-t-a KT,W,K, whereas R read only [y-a]-t-a and has no  
 geographical name (this being "quite certain", however, to KT);  
 49 x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-u-mi-i-s W (first in WB, addendum on p. XI; see Schmitt 1990,  
 30f.), -θ-i-y : [p-s-a-v :] v-u- KT,K, -θ-[i-y : p-s-a-v : v-u-mi-i-s] R;  
 50 [: a-v-θ-a-š-i-y : a-θ-h-m] : R;  
 51 [a-v-m : j-di-i-y : p-s-a]-v R;  
 52 h-mi-i-[ç-i-y]-a KT,W,K, p-s-[a-v : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-a : h]-g-m-t-a R;  
 53 i-z-l-a K (following Cameron 1951, 49b: "all characters are preserved"), i-[z-l]-a W,  
 i-[z-t]-a KT, whereas R has no restoration;  
 54 a-u-r-m-z-d-a-[m]-i-y KT,W,K, -m-[z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m :] R;

55 t-[y-m :] KT,W,K, [k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-mi-i-ç]-i-y-m R;  
 56 [θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š]-a-m R;  
 57 [x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-t-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>]-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m R;  
 58 p-t-i-[š : v-u-mi-i-s-m : h-m-r-n-m] R;  
 59 a-r-mi-i-n-[i-y-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n]-m R;  
 60 [v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a]-h R;  
 61 h-mi-i-ç-i-y-[m : a-j : v-s-i-y : θ-u-r]-v-a-h-r-h-y R, [θ-u]-r-v- Jackson 1906a, 200;  
 62 ji-i-y-m-n-m KT (ji "quite certain"), W,K, + -i-y- R || [h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m :] R;  
 63 a-r-mi-i-n-i-y-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[y] here according to the faint traces visible on the photograph,  
 a-r-mi-i-n-i-y-[i-y] KT,W,K ("yāty" obviously being a misprint), a-r-mi-i-n-i-[y]  
 WB (abandoned in the addendum on p. XI and misread by Kent, *ad loc.*), a-r-mi-i-n-i-  
 [y(sic) : y-a-t-a : a-d]-m R;  
 64 [: p-s-a-v : a-d-m :] n-i-j-a-y-m R (n and y "doubtful");  
 65 m-a-[d-m : p-r-a-r-s-m : g<sup>u</sup>]-u-d<sup>u</sup>-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š R (corrected to k<sup>u</sup>]-u-d<sup>u</sup>- by Rawlinson  
 1850, III);  
 66 f-r-v-[r-t-i-š : h-y : m]-a-d-i-y R;  
 67 h-d-[a :] KT,W,K, [a-i-š : h-d-a] : ... [h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t]-n-i-y R;



68 m : a-ku-u-m-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r-m  
 69 : t-y-m : f-r-v-r-t-i-š : a-d-m : a-j-n-m : v-s-i-y : a-du-u-k-[n-i]-š-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XXV : r-  
 70 u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-m-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-  
 71 š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : h-u-v : f-r-v-r-t-i-š : h-d-a : k-m-n-i-b-i-š : a-s-b-a-r-i-b-i-š : a-m<sup>u</sup>-u-θ : r-  
 72 g-a : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-a-d-i-y : a-v-p-r-a : a-š-i-y-v : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : f-  
 73 r-a-i-š-y-m : n-i-p-d-i-y : f-r-v-r-t-i-š : a-g-r-b-i-<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> : a-n-y-t-a : a-b-i-y : m-a-m : a-d-  
 74 m-š-i-<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> [ : ] u-t-a : n-a-h-m : u-t-a : g-u-š-a : u-t-a : h-z-a-n-m : f-r-a-j-n-m : u-t-a-š-  
 75 i-y : [ I c-š ]-m : a-v-j-m : d<sup>u</sup>-u-v-r-y-a-m-i-y : b-s-t : a-d-a-r-i-y : h-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-š-i-m : k-  
 76 a-r : a-v-i-n : p-s-a-v-š-i-m : h-g-m-t-a-n-i-y : u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-y : a-ku-u-n-v-m  
 77 : u-t-a : m-[r]-t-i-y-a : t-y-i-š-i-y : f-r-t-m-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a : a-h-t-a : a-v-i-y : h-  
 78 g-m-t-a-[n-i-y] : [a]-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>-r : d-i-d-a-m : f-r-a-h-j-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-  
 79 a-y-θ-i-y : I m-r-[t]-i-y : c-i-ç-t-x-m : n-a-m : a-s-g-r-t-i-y : h-u-v-m-i-y : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y :  
 80 a-b-v : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-s-g-r-t-  
 81 i-y : u-v-x-š-t-r-[h-y]-a : t-u-m-a-y-a : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : p-a-r-s-m : u-t-  
 82 a : m-a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : t-x-m-s-p-a-d : n-a-m : m-a-d : m-n-a : b-d-k : a-v-m-  
 83 š-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-ku-u-n-v-m : [a]-v-θ-a-š-a-m : a-θ-h-m : p-r-i-t-a : k-  
 84 a-r-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : h-y : m-n-a : n-i-y : g-u-b-a-t-i-y : a-v-m : j-t-a : p-s-  
 85 a-v [ : ] t-x-m-s-p-a-d : h-d-a : k-a-r-a : <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-š-i-y-v : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : h-d-  
 86 a : c-i-ç-t-x-m-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-  
 87 d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : u-t-a : c-  
 88 i-ç-t-x-m-m : a-g-r-b-a-y : a-n-y : a-b-i-y : m-a-m : p-s-a-v-š-i-y : a-d-m : u-t-a : n-  
 89 a-h-m : u-t-a : g-u-š-a : f-r-a-j-n-m : u-t-a-š-i-y : I c-š-m : a-v-j-m : d<sup>u</sup>-u-v-r-y-a-

68 [ : a-u-r-m-z ]-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m [ : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a ]-u-r-m-z-d-a-h R;  
 69 a-du-u-k-[n-i]-š-h-y KT, W (presented there as a certain reading), K, whereas R had only . . . -h-y and WB (following Rawlinson 1850, III) a-du-u-k-n-i-š (with a correction to a-du-u-k-[n]-i-š-h-y or -k-[n-i]-š [one form obviously being a misprint] in the addendum on p. XI) || XXV KT, W, K, XXVI R;  
 70 a-[h : a]-v-θ-a . . . a-ku-[u-m-a ●● : θ-a]-t-i-y R;  
 71 [ : h-u-v : ] . . . k-[m-n-i-b-i-š : a-s-b-a]-r-i-b-i-š R;  
 72 a-v-p-r-a KT ("certain"), W, K, whereas R had restored, *i.e.*, a-v-d-[a : a-š-i-y-v];  
 73 n-i-p-d-i-y KT ("certain"), W, K, r-a-[i-š-y-m : t-y]-i-p-t-i-y R || a-g-r-b-i-<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> here (according to the traces legible on the photograph, which confirm the reading proposed by Hoffmann 1976, 398), a-g-r-b-i-[t] : a-n-y-t-a KT, W, K, a-g-r-[b-a-y-t-a : u-t-a : a-n-y]-t-a R;  
 74 m-š-i-<sup>1</sup>y<sup>1</sup> [ : ] u-t-a here, m-š-i-[y : ] u-t-a KT, W, K, m-[š-i-y : u-t]-a R || h-z-a-n-m K (following Cameron 1951, 49b), h-<sup>1</sup>r-b<sup>1</sup>-a-<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>-m KT, [u-z]-b-a-n-m W, whereas WB restored u-[t-a : h-i-z-u-v]-m and R had nothing (but -a-n-m in Rawlinson 1850, III);  
 75 [ I c-š ]-m K (following Cameron's [1951, 49f.] reading in line 89), [u-c-š]-m KT, W, whereas R had left the lacuna vacant;  
 76 p-s-a-v-š-i-m KT, W, K, [a]-v-[i-n] : p-s-a-v : a-d-m R || h-g-m-t-a-[n : a-v-d-a-š-i-m : u-z-t-y]-a-p-t-i-y R (corrected to h-g-m-t-a-n-i-y u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-y in Rawlinson

1850, III f.);  
 77 m-[r]-t-i-y-a KT, W, K, u-t-[a : m-r-t-i-y]-a R || f-r-t-m-[a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a] : R;  
 78 g-m-t-a-[n-i-y] : [a-t]-r R, KT, W, K, but there are plainly visible traces of the second character in [a]-<sup>1</sup>t<sup>1</sup>-r || f-r-a-h-[+ + ●● : θ-a-t-i-y] R (but f-r-a-h-j-m in Rawlinson 1850, IV);  
 79 m-r-[t]-i-y KT, W, K, [m-r-t-i]-y R || [a-s-g-r-t-i-y : h]-u-v- R;  
 80 k-a-r-h-[y-a : a]-v-θ-a . . . : [x-š-a-y-θ-i]-y . . . : [a-s-g]-r-t- R;  
 81 u-v-x-š-t-r-[h-y]-a here according to the traces visible, -r-[h-y-a] KT, W, K, u-v-x-[š-t-r]-h-y-a R || p-a-[r-s-m] R;  
 82 [f-r-a-i]-š-y-m : x-m-s-[p]-a-d R (wrongly) || b-[d-k : a]-v-m- R;  
 83 [a]-v-θ-a-š-a-m KT, W, K, [a-v-θ-a]-š-a-m R;  
 84 a-r-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m KT, W, K, a-r-m : t-y-[m : h-m<sup>i</sup>]-i-ç-i-y-m R (without any foundation);  
 85 t-x-m-s-p-a-d KT, W, K, x-[m-s]-p- R (wrongly; cfr. on line 82) || <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-š-i-y-v here, [a]-š-i-y-v KT, W, K, [ : a-š-i]-y-v R;  
 86 a-u-r-m-z-[d-a-m-i-y] : R;  
 87 k-a-[r] : . . . k-a-r-[m : t-y-m] : h-m<sup>i</sup>- R;  
 88 a-g-r-b-a-y : [u-t-a : ] a-n-y R (without any foundation and rightly omitted later);  
 89 I c-š-m K (following Cameron 1951, 49f.: "clearly"), [u]-c-š-m KT, W, + + +]-m R;

90 m-i-y : b-s-t : a-d-a-r-i-y : h-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-š-i-m : k-a-r : a-v-i-[n :] p-s-a-v-š-i-m : a-r-b-i-r-a-y-a :  
 91 u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-[y :] a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-y : m-  
 92 n-a : k-r-t-m : m-a-[d]-i-y ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-[i]-y : p-r-θ-v : u-t-a : v-r-  
 93 k-a-n : [h-m<sup>i</sup>]-i-[ç]-i-y-a : [a-b]-v : [h-c-a]-m : f-r-v-r-[t-i-š : a-g]-u-[b]-t-a : v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p : m-n-a : p-i-t-a : h-  
 94 u-v : [p-r-θ-v-i-y] : a-h [:] a-[v]-m : k-a-r : a-v-h-r-[d : h-m<sup>i</sup>]-i-ç-i-[y] : a-b-v : p-s-a-v : v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p : a-  
 95 [š]-[i-y-v : h-d-a : k-a-r]-a : h-[y-š-i-y :] a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-[y :] a-h : v<sup>i</sup>-i-š-[p]-u-z-[a]-t-i-š : n-a-m : v-r-d-  
 96 [n-m : p-r-θ-v-i-y] : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : [a]-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-[š] : h-d-a : p-r-θ-v-i-b-i-[š :] a-[u-r-m-z-d]-a-m-i-y  
 97 : [u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r :] v-š-n-a [: a]-u-r-m-[z-d-a-h : v<sup>i</sup>-š]-t-a-[s-p] : a-v-m : k-a-r-[m : t-y-m : h]-m<sup>i</sup>-[i]-ç-i-y-  
 98 m : [a-j : v-s-i-y : v<sup>i</sup>]-i-y-x-n-h-y : m-[a]-h-y-a : [XXII : r-u-c-b-i-š :] θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m

90 a-v-i-[n :] K (following Cameron 1951, 50a), a-[v]-i-[n :] KT,W, a-v-[i-n : p-s]-a-v-  
 WB, a-[v-i-n : p-s]-a-v- R;  
 91 u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-[y :] KT,W,K, [u-z-t-y-a-p-t]-i-y R || d-a-r-y-v-u-š K, -v-[u]-š  
 KT,W, d-a-[r-y-v-u]-š R;  
 92 m-a-[d]-i-y KT,W,K, [m-a-d-i]-y R || x-š-a-y-θ-[i]-y KT,W,K, x-[š-a-y-θ-i]-y R;  
 93 text as restored by KT,W (who has [h]-c-a-m and a-g-u-[b]-t-a, however), K, in  
 general following WB, who had ... [: h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y : a-b]-v [: u-t (*sic*) :] f-r-v-r-t-i-š  
 [:] a-g-u-b-t-a ... || at the end of the line R has [v<sup>i</sup>]-š-[t-a-s-p] : h-y : m-n-a : p-i-t-a  
 (without any foundation, corrected to a-g-u-b-t-a : v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p : m-n-a : p-i-t-a :  
 h- in Rawlinson 1850, IV);  
 94 except for v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p : a- at the end of the line (see Schmitt 1990, 32) the text given  
 here is on the whole as restored by KT,W,K, who differ, however, as to a-v-h-r-[d]  
 K (accepting an emendation by Tolman 1910, 21), a-v-h-[r-t] W, a-v-h-[r-+ ] KT,

95 and v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p : K,W, v<sup>i</sup>-š-t-a-s-p-a : (*sic*) KT;  
 text as restored by KT,W,K, except for [š]-[i-y-v] contrary to their [a-š-i-y-v] (though  
 traces of *a* were reported to be “visible” by KT) || a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-[y :] W,K, -š-i-[y-a  
 :] KT, -š-i-y [:] WB (abandoned in the addenda, however) || v<sup>i</sup>-i-š-[p]-u-z-[a]-t-i-š  
 KT (according to Elam. *Mi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš*), W,K; I cannot, however, suppress my  
 doubts on the correctness of v<sup>i</sup>-i-š-[p]-, though this reading is far better than v<sup>i</sup>-i-s-p-  
 u-z-t-i-š-WB (later abandoned) or even [v<sup>i</sup>-i-s-p]-a-v-u-š-t-i-š R (“only partially  
 legible”);  
 96 text as restored by KT,W,K, whereas WB have n-m [: p-r- ... and a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v (with  
 a different continuation) respectively; yet h-d-a : p-r-θ-v-i-b-i-[š] is quite certain in  
 spite of translation equivalents being lacking in the other versions;  
 97 text as restored by KT,W,K;  
 98 text as restored by KT,W,K.

## Column III

- 1 : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-  
 2 m : p-a-r-s-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : a-b-i-y : vi-š-t-a-s-p-m : h-c-a : r-g-a-  
 3 y-a : y-θ-a : h-u-v : k-a-r : p-r-a-r-s : a-b-i-y : vi-š-t-a-s-p-m  
 4 : p-s-a-v : vi-š-t-a-s-p : a-y-s-t-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : a-š-i-y-v : p-t-i-g-r-b-  
 5 n-a : n-a-m : v-r-d-n-m : p-r-θ-v-i-y : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : h-d-a :  
 6 h-mi-i-ç-i-y-i-b-i-š : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-  
 7 d-a-h : vi-š-t-a-s-p : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : g-  
 8 r-m-p-d-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : I : r-u-c : θ-k-t-m : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-  
 9 r-t-m •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-  
 10 n-a : a-b-v : i-m : t-y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : p-r-θ-v-i-y •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-  
 11 š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : m-r-gu-u-š : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : h-u-v-m-i-y : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-a : a-b-v  
 12 : I m-r-t-i-y : f-r-a-d : n-a-m : m-a-r-g-v : a-v-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-ku-u-n-v-t-a : p-s-a-  
 13 v : a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : d-a-d-r-š-i-š : n-a-m : p-a-r-s : m-n-a : b-d-k : b-a-x-t-r-i-y-  
 14 a : x-š-ç-p-a-v-a : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : a-v-θ-a-š-i-y : a-θ-h-m : p-r-i-di-i-y : a-v-  
 15 m : k-a-r-m : j-di-i-y : h-y : m-n-a : n-i-y : g-u-b-t-i-y : p-s-a-v : d-a-d-r-š-i-š : h-d-a : k-  
 16 a-r-a : a-š-i-y-v : h-m-r-n-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : h-d-a : m-a-r-g-v-i-b-i-š : a-u-r-m-z-d-  
 17 a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m  
 18 : t-y-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : a-ç-i-y-a-di-i-y-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XXIII : r-u-c-b-i-  
 19 š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-  
 20 š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-n-a : a-b-v : i-m : t-y : m-  
 21 n-a : k-r-t-m : b-a-x-t-r-i-y-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-  
 22 θ-i-y : I m-r-t-i-y : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : n-a-m : t-a-r-v-a : n-a-m : v-r-d-n-m  
 23 : y-u-t-i-y-a : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : p-a-r-s-i-y : a-v-d-a : a-d-a-r-y : h-  
 24 u-v : du-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m : u-d-p-t-t-a : p-a-r-s-i-y : k-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a  
 25 : a-θ-h : a-d-m : b-r-di-i-y : a-m-i-i-y : h-y : ku-u-r-u-š : p-u-ç : p-s-a-v

The inscribed area of column III does not begin at the same level as columns I and II, but some centimetres lower, so that DB III 1 is on a level with DB II 4. This shift is caused by the rather uneven and flawed surface of the rock.

Whereas the upper two thirds of this column are in a fairly good condition, the state of preservation becomes worse and worse towards the end of the text, so that even today the last five lines (of which Rawlinson could read next to nothing) cannot always be restored in a truly reliable way.

Particular notes concerning the reading and the restoration of the text:

- 1 v : • a • d-m : • k-a-r is rather spaced out because of the very rough and uneven surface;  
 2 r-g-a- KT, W, K, [r]-g-a- R;  
 3 vi ••••• š-t-a-s-p-m (!);  
 4 p-t-i-g-r-b- KT (though considering on p. 42<sup>1</sup> whether the third sign might be u,

which seems to be excluded, however, by the traces visible), W, K, thus already Rawlinson 1850, V, too, abandoning his original reading p-t-i-g-「p」-;

- 8 θ-k-t-m KT (who regard the ending as an engraver's mistake for a, however!), W, K, θ-k-t-a R;  
 11 h-mi-i-ç-i-y-a KT, W, K, h-š-i-t-i-y-a R (who expressly excluded "an error of orthography", but by mistake, as the photograph plainly shows);  
 14 p-r-i-di-i-y KT, W, K, p-r-i-t-i-y R (but corrected already in Rawlinson 1850, V);  
 16 m-a-r-g-v-i-b-i-š KT, W, K, -g-y-i- R;  
 18 a-ç-i-y-a-di-i-y-h-y KT, W, K, -y-a-t-i- R (corrected, however, in 1850, cfr. on line 14); -a-di- now only partly visible, obviously in consequence of recent gun-shot damage;  
 19 k-r-t-m nowadays partly damaged, too;  
 25 ku-u-r ••••• u-š with a long blank space left vacant owing to a horizontal fissure;

26 :k-a-r : p-a-r-s : h-y : vi-θ-a-p-t-i-y : h-c-a : y-d-a-y-a : f-r-t-r-m : h-  
 27 u-v : h-c-a-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y : a-b-v : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : v-h-y-z-d-a-t-  
 28 m : a-š-i-y-v : h-u-v : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v : p-a-r-s-i-y ●● : θ-a-  
 29 t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : p-a-r-s-  
 30 m : u-t-a : m-a-d-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : h-y : u-p-a : m-a-m : a-h : a-r-t-v-r-di-  
 31 i-y : n-a-m : p-a-r-s : m-n-a : b-d-k : a-v-m-š-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-  
 32 n-v-m : h-y : a-n-i-y : k-a-r : p-a-r-s : p-s-a : m-n-a : a-š-i-y-v : m-a-  
 33 d-m : p-s-a-v : a-r-t-v-r-di-i-y : h-d-a : k-a-r-a : a-š-i-y-v : p-a-r-s-m  
 34 : y-θ-a : p-a-r-s-m : p-r-a-r-s : r-x-a : n-a-m : v-r-d-n-m : p-a-r-s-i-y : a-  
 35 v-d-a : h-u-v : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : h-y : b-r-di-i-y : a-g-u-b-t-a : a-i-š :  
 36 h-d-a : k-a-r-a : p-t-i-š : a-r-t-v-r-di-i-y-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : p-s-  
 37 a-v : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-  
 38 š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : v-h-y-  
 39 z-d-a-t-h-y : a-j : v-s-i-y : θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XII : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-  
 40 t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-  
 41 y : p-s-a-v : h-u-v : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : h-d-a : k-m-n-i-b-i-š : a-s-b-a-r-i-b-i-š : a-  
 42 m<sup>u</sup>-u-θ : a-š-i-y-v : p-i-š-i-y-a-u-v-a-d-a-m : h-c-a : a-v-d-š : k-a-r-m : a-y-s-  
 43 t-a : h-y-a-p-r-m : a-i-š : p-t-i-š : a-r-t-v-r-di-i-y-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-  
 44 i-y : p-r-g : n-a-m : k-u-f : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-  
 45 i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-  
 46 m : k-a-r-m : t-y-m : v-h-y-z-d-a-t-h-y : a-j : v-s-i-y : g-r-m-p-d-h-y : m-a-h-  
 47 y-a : V : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m : u-t-a : a-v-  
 48 m : v-h-y-z-d-a-t-m : a-g-r-b-a-y : u-t-a : m-r-t-i-y-a : t-y-i-š-i-y : f-r-t-m-  
 49 a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a : a-h-t : a-g-r-b-a-y ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-  
 50 a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : a-v-m : v-h-y-z-d-a-t-m : u-t-a : m-r-t-i-y-a :  
 51 t-y-i-š-i-y : f-r-t-m-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a : a-h-t : u-v-a-d-i-c-y : n-a-m : v-r-  
 52 d-n-m : p-a-r-s-i-y : a-v-d-š-i-š : u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-y : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m ●● : θ-a-  
 53 t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : p-a-r-s-i-y ●● :  
 54 θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : h-u-v : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : h-y : b-r-di-i-y

26 y-d-a-y-a R,KT,W,K; since all these characters are clearly legible, no emendation is called for (cfr. Kent 1953, 126a ad loc.) || f-r-t-r-m K (following Cameron 1951, 50a), f-r-t-r-t R (who in one rough copy had the correct form, however; cfr. Rawlinson 1847, 232), KT,W;

33 p-a-r-s ●●● m, owing to the uneven surface;

47 V KT,W,K, VI R;

51 u-v-a-d-i-c-y KT,W,K, -d-i-d-y R;

52 u-z-m-y-a-p-t-i-y KT,W,K, u-z-t-y- R (see on DB II 76, 91; cfr. Rawlinson 1847, liv; 1850, V);

53/4 the last signs of x-š-a-y-θ-i-y being directly one above the other in both lines, a haplogy could easily come about, as actually took place in Rawlinson's copy, where the full text of one line is missing (thus: 53R t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : h-u-v : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : h-y : b-r-di-i-y) instead of lines 53 and 54 as printed above. (N.B.: In consequence of this, from here on the numbering of both the lines and the paragraphs is short by one in R.)

53 the word divider at the end of the line is missing in K<sup>2</sup>, obviously by a printer's error;

55 : a-g-u-b-t-a : h-u-v : k-a-r-m : f-r-a-i-š-y : h-r-u-v-t-i-m : vi-i-v-a-n :  
 56 n-a-m : p-a-r-s : m-n-a : b-d-k : h-r-u-v-t-i-y-a : x-š-ç-p-a-v-a : a-b-i-y : a-v-  
 57 m : u-t-a-š-a-m : I m-r-t-i-y-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : a-  
 58 θ-h : p-r-i-t-a : vi-i-v-a-n-m : j-t-a : u-t-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : h-y : d-a-r-y-  
 59 v-h-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-h-y-a : g-u-b-t-i-y : p-s-a-v : h-u-v : k-a-r : a-š-i-y-  
 60 v : t-y-m : v-h-y-z-d-a-t : f-r-a-i-š-y : a-b-i-y : vi-i-v-a-n-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : k-  
 61 a-p-i-š-k-a-n-i-š : n-a-m-a : di-i-d-a : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-  
 62 y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-y-  
 63 m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : a-n-a-m-k-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : XIII : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-  
 64 v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-t-i-y : h-  
 65 y-a-p-r-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a : h-g-m-t-a : p-r-i-t-a : p-t-i-š : vi-i-v-a-n-m : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-  
 66 i-y : g-d<sup>u</sup>-u-t-v : n-a-m-a : d-h-y-a-u-š : a-v-d-a : h-m-r-n-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-  
 67 i-y : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : k-a-r : h-y : m-n-a : a-v-m : k-a-r-m : t-  
 68 y-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-j : v-s-i-y : vi-i-y-x-n-h-y : m-a-h-y-a : VII : r-u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a :  
 69 a-h : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : h-m-r-n-m : k-r-t-m ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y :  
 70 p-s-a-v : h-u-v : m-r-t-[i]-[y] : h-y : a-v-h-y-a : k-a-r-h-y-a : m-θ-[i-š-t : a]-h : t-y-m : v-  
 71 h-y-z-d-a-t : f-r-a-i-š-y : a-b-i-y : vi-i-v-a-n-m : h-u-v : a-m<sup>u</sup>-[u-θ : h]-d-a : k-m-n-i-b-  
 72 i-š : a-s-b-a-r-i-b-i-š : a-š-i-y-v : a-r-š-a-d-a : n-a-m-a : di-i-d-a : [h]-r-u-v-t-i-y-a : a-  
 73 v-p-r-a : a-t-i-y-a-i-š : p-s-a-v : vi-i-v-a-n : h-d-a : k-a-r-a : n-i-p-di-i-y : t-y-i-y : a-š-i-y-  
 74 v : a-v-d-a-š-i-m : a-g-r-b-a-y : u-<sup>r</sup>t<sup>l</sup>-a : m-r-t-i-y-a : t-y-i-š-i-y : f-r-t-m-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a :  
 75 a-h-t-a : a-v-a-j ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-s-a-v : d-h-y-a-u-š : m-  
 76 n-a : a-b-v : i-m : t-y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : h-r-u-v-t-i-y-a ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-  
 77 y-θ-i-y : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : p-a-r-s-i-[y : ] u- < t > -a : m-a-d-i-y : a-h-m : p-t-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m :  
 78 b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y-a : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a : a-b-v : h-c-a-m : I m-r-t-i-y : a-r-x : n-a-m : «a-r-m<sup>i</sup>»-i-n-i-  
 79 y : h-l-di-i-t-h-y : p-u-ç : h-u-v : u-d-p-t-t-a : b-a-b-i-r-u-v : d<sup>u</sup>-u-b-a-l : n-a-m-a : «d<sup>l</sup>»-h-y-a-  
 80 u-š : h-c-a : a-v-d-š : h-u-v : [k]-a-r-h-y-a : a-v-θ-a : a-d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-ji-i-y : a-d-m : n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-

- 55 a-g-u-b-t-a: KT think that "the engraver has written *r* in place of *b* by mistake" (cfr. Kent 1953, 126a); considering the photograph I doubt, however, whether the indentation visible between the two horizontal wedges is by accident or by design and whether it really forms part of the cuneiform character;  
 66 g-d<sup>u</sup>-u-t-v R,KT,W,K, but repeatedly emended to g-d<sup>u</sup>-u-m-v for the sake of the Elamite form (see Cameron 1951, 50b; Kent 1953, 126a);  
 67 a-b-r: as in line 55 a-g-u-b-t-a (see above) KT think of an engraver's mistake a-r-r in place of a-b-r; but here, too, I see some reason to doubt their justification for doing so;  
 68 vi-i-y-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>l</sup>-n-h-y KT (who saw "traces" of x), -y-x-n- W,K, -y-[x]-<sup>r</sup>n<sup>l</sup>- R;  
 70 m-r-t-[i]-[y] here (on account of the traces legible), m-r-t-[i-y] KT,W,K, -[t-i-y] R || m-θ-[i-š-t : a]-h KT,W,K, [m-θ-i-š-t : a-h] R (pace Kent 1953, 126a, who was misled by R's erroneous reading in line [71 =] 70R!);  
 71 a-b-i-y KT,W,K, [a-b]-i-y R || a-m<sup>u</sup>-[u-θ : h]-d-a KT,W,K, m-θ-[i-š-t : h-d]-a R;  
 72 a-š-i-y-v KT,W,K, a-[š-i]-y-v R || di-i-d-a : [h]-r-u-v-t-i-y-a KT,W,K, di-i-[d-a :

- h-r-u]-v- R;  
 73 n-i-p-di-i-y : t-y-i-y WB (accepted here on account of the traces of -y and -y- legible on the photograph), n-i-p-di-i-y-<sup>r</sup>m<sup>l</sup>-+ -i-y R (corrected to n-i-p-di-i-y : t-y-i-y by Rawlinson 1850, V), -di-i-[y : ] t-[y]-i-y KT,W,K || a-š-i-y- KT,W,K, a-[š-i]-y- R (but unbracketed in the 1850 addendum);  
 74 a-g-r-b-a-y KT,W,K, -b-[a-y] R || u-<sup>r</sup>t<sup>l</sup>-a here (on account of the traces visible), u-t-a R, u-[t]-a KT,W,K;  
 77 p-a-r-s-i-[y : ] u- < t > -a KT (who noticed that *t* was omitted by mistake), W,K, -s-i-[y : u-t-a] R;  
 78 «a-r-m<sup>i</sup>»-i-n-i- R ("a good deal defaced, but . . . hardly . . . restorations", as Rawlinson 1847, lv, put it), [a-r-m<sup>i</sup>]-i-n-i- KT,W,K;  
 79 h-l-di-i-t-h-y KT,W,K, whereas Rawlinson 1850, V, indeed read h- (instead of his lectio princeps n-), but had not yet deciphered the exact value of the *l* character || «d<sup>l</sup>»-h-y-a- here, d-h-y-a- R, [d]-h- KT,W,K;  
 80 [k]-a-r-h-y-a KT,W,K, whereas R had the erroneous reading u-d-p-t-t-a (sic);

81 r-c-r : a-mi-i-y : h-y : n-b-u-n-i-t-h-y : p-u-ç : p-s-a-v : k-a-r : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y : h-c-a-m : h-  
 82 mi-i-ç-i-y : a-b-v : a-b-i-y : a-v-m : a-r-x-m : a-š-i-y-v : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : h-u-v : a-g-r-b-a-y-t-  
 83 a : h-u-v : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-b-v : b-a-b-i-r-u-v •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-[r-y-v]-u-[š : x-š]-a-y-θ-i-  
 84 y : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : k-a-r-m : f-r-a-i-š-y-m : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : vi-i-d-f-r-[n-a] : n-a-m : p-a-<sup>⌈</sup>r-s<sup>⌋</sup> : m-n-a  
 85 : b-d-k : a-v-m-š-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : a-v-θ-a-š-a-m : a-θ-h-m : p-r-[i-t-a : a-v]-m : k-a-r-m  
 86 : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-[y]-m : j-t-a : h-y : m-n-a : n-i-y : [g]-u-b-a-t-i-y : p-s-a-v : [vi]-i-d-[f-r-n]-a : h-d-a : k-a-r-  
 87 a : a-š-i-y-v : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-t-[a-m] : a-[b-r] : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-  
 88 d-a-h : vi-i-d-[f-r]-n-a : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-[y]-a : a-j : u-t-a : [b-s-t-a : a-n-y : v-r-k-z-n-h-y] : m-a-h-y-a : XXII : r-  
 89 u-c-b-i-š : θ-k-t-a : a-h : a-v-θ-a : a-v-m : a-r-x-m : [h-y : n-b]-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-c-r [ : d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x]-<sup>⌈</sup>t<sup>⌋</sup>-m : a-  
 90 g-u-b-t-[a] : u-t-a : m-r-t-i-y-a : t-y-i-š-i-y : f-[r-t-m-a] : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a [ : a-h-t-a : a-g-r-b]-  
 91 [a-y : n-i-y-š]-t-a-y-m : h-[u-v] : a-[r]-x : [u]-t-a [ : m-r-t]-i-y-a : t-y-i-š-[i]-y [ : f]-r-t-[m]-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-  
 92 u-š-i-y-a : a-h-t-a : b-a-b-i-r-[u]-v : [u]-z- <m> -y-a-p-t-i-y : a-k-r-i-y-t-a

81 n-b-u-n-i-t-h-y KT,W,K, -t-h-y-a R;  
 83 d-a-[r-y-v]-u-[š : x-š]-a-y-θ-i-y KT,W,K, whereas all signs seem to have been legible to R;  
 84 vi-i-d-f-r-[n-a] KT,W,K, -f-r-a R (by error) || p-a-<sup>⌈</sup>r-s<sup>⌋</sup> here (according to the traces visible), p-a-[r-s] KT,W,K, whereas R had m-a-d (giving a statement in contradiction to DB IV 83);  
 85 p-r-[i-t-a : a-v]-m KT,W,K, p-r-i-t-a : a-v-m R;  
 86 : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-[y]-m KT,W,K, : t-y-m : b-a-b-i-r-u-v R (without foundation) || [g]-u-b-a-t-i-y KT,W,K, g-u-b-t- R || [vi]-i-d-[f-r-n]-a KT (-d-a-[f]- obviously being a misprint), W,K, [vi-i-d-f-r-a] R;  
 87 a-š-i-y-v : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m KT,W,K, whereas R has an unfounded additional preposition -y-v : a-b-i-y : b-a- || u-p-s-t-[a-m] : a-[b-r] KT,W,K, -t-a-m : a-b-r R;  
 88 vi-i-d-[f-r]-n-a KT,W,K, vi-i-d-[f-r]-a R || b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-[y]-a : a-j KT,W,K, -r<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-g-r-b-a-y R || [b-s-t-a : a-n-y] K (following Tolman 1908, 22), [a-g-r-b-a-y] W, whereas neither R nor KT dared to restore the text || [v-r-k-z-n-h-y] K, [m/v-r-g/k-j/c/z-n-h-y] W (cfr. his note a on p. 56f.), [+r-+-+ -n-h-y] WB, all these attempts being based on the Elamite rendering alone, whereas R and KT had nothing || XXII KT,W,K, II R;  
 89 θ-k-t-a R,K<sup>2</sup>, [θ-k]-t-a KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> || a-r-x-m K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron 1951, 50b), a-[r-x-m] KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, while R had neither text nor any restoration between a-v-[m] here and -a-p-t-i-y in line 92 (= 91R) || [h-y : n-b]-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-c-r [ : d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x]-m

K<sup>2</sup> (filling the gap found only by Cameron, l.c., in [h-y : n-b]-u-k<sup>u</sup> • u-[d-r-c-r : + - + - + - + -]-m), whereas I print -r<sup>u</sup>-u-x]-<sup>⌈</sup>t<sup>⌋</sup>-m here on account of the traces visible on the rock; the reading of only [h-y : n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u]-d-r-c-r by KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> is outdated;  
 90 g-u-b-t-[a] : u-t-a K<sup>2</sup> (and first Cameron, l.c.), -b-t-[a : u]-t-a K<sup>1</sup>, -b-[t-a : u]-t-a KT,W || m-r-t-i-y-a KT,W,K; but -[y]-a in Cameron, l.c. || t-y-i-š-i-y K<sup>2</sup> (first Cameron, l.c.), t-y-[i-š-i-y] W, t-y-a : i-[ KT || f-[r-t-m-a] : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-[i-y-a] K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron, l.c.), as formerly restored by W;  
 90f. [a-h-t-a : a-g-r-b-a-y : n-i-y-š]-t-a-y-m K<sup>2</sup> (first Cameron, l.c.), eliminating the additional [p-s-a-v] conjectured by W after [a-g-r-b-a-y];  
 91 h-[u-v] : a-[r]-x : [u]-t-a [ : m-r-t]-i-y-a K<sup>2</sup> (against [u]-t-[a : m- in Cameron, l.c.), [h-u-v : a-r-x : u]-t-a [ : m-r-t]-i-y-a KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> || t-y-i-š-[i]-y [ : f]-r-t-[m]-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-K<sup>2</sup> (whereas Cameron, l.c., had f]-r-t-[m-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>]-), t-[y-i-š-i-y : f]-r-t-[m]-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-KT (with a-<sup>⌈</sup>r-n<sup>⌋</sup>-), W,K<sup>1</sup>;  
 92 u-š-i-y-a K<sup>2</sup> (as Cameron, l.c.), u-š-i-[y]-a KT (with <sup>⌈</sup>u<sup>⌋</sup>-š-), W,K<sup>1</sup> || a-h-t-a : b-a-b-i-r-[u]-v KT,W,K || [u]-z- <m> -y-a-p-t-i-y K<sup>2</sup> (first Cameron, l.c., [u]-z-y • a-p-t-i-y), [ : u-z-m-y]-a-p-t-i-y KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> (and already Jackson 1903, 89), -[a]-p-t-i-y R || a-k-r-i-y-t-a K (following Cameron, l.c.), W (cfr. also Jackson, l.c.), whereas KT and R had a-s-r-i-y-t-a || blank space for about five characters at the end of the line according to Cameron, l.c. (correcting R).

## Column IV

- 1 : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-[v-u-š:] x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-  
 2 y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m [: b-a-b-i-r-u]-v ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-  
 3 a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-[a-y-θ-i]-y : i-m : t-y : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-  
 4 v-m : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-[m-z-d]-a-h : h-m-h-y-a-y-a : θ-r-  
 5 d : p-s-a-v : y-θ-a : x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y] : a-b-v-m : XIX : h-m-r-n-  
 6 a : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : v-š-n-[a : a-u-r]-m-z-d-a-h : a-d-m-š-i-š : a-  
 7 j-n-m : u-t-a : IX : x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y]-a : a-g-r-b-a-y-m : I g-u-m-a-t :  
 8 n-a-m : m-gu-u-š : a-h : [h<sup>u</sup>]-[u-v : a-du]-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m :  
 9 b-r-di-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y [: h-y : k<sup>u</sup>-u]-r-u-š : p-u-ç : h-u-v : p-a-r-s-m : h-  
 10 m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š [I a-ç-i]-n : n-a-m : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : h-u-v : a-du-u-  
 11 r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-[θ-l<sup>u</sup> : a-d-m] : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y  
 12 : h-u-v : u-v-j-m : h-[m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y]-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : I n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r : n-  
 13 a-m : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v<sup>i</sup>-i-y [:] h-u-v : a-du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h :  
 14 a-d-m : n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-[c-r : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y] : h-y : n-b-u-n-i-t-h-y : p-u-ç :  
 15 h-u-v : b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m [: h-m<sup>i</sup>-i]-ç-i-y-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : I m-r-t-i-y : n-a-  
 16 m : p-a-r-s : h-u-v : [a]-[d<sup>u</sup>]-[u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : i-m-n-i-

The text of column IV on the whole has suffered damage similar to that of column II or even greater, chiefly by a nearly vertical fissure detracting much from the second quarter of each line. Unlike this damage due to the ice which forms every winter, the heavy abrasions in the lower part and towards the end of this column are caused by the trickling of water from above.

The beginning of the inscribed area is still lower than in column III owing to the uneven and rather flawed surface of the rock, so that DB IV 1 is on a level with DB III 5 (and DB II 8). For the same reason there are many spaces (some of them rather large) in the first lines of the text (cfr., e.g., in line 1 *t-i* ● *y*, *x* ● *š-a* ● *y* ● *θ-i* ● ● *y*, *i* ● *m* : *t*); in addition, a number of natural breaks and the like may now and then worry the eyes of the reader.

Particular notes concerning the reading and the restitution of the text:

- 1 d-a-r-y-[v-u-š:] KT,W,K, [d-a]-r-y-v-[u-š : x-š]-a-y- R;  
 2 k-r-t-m KT,W,K, [k-i]-t-m R || [: b-a-b-i-r-u]-v R,KT,W,K || -v ●●●●●●●● : θ-on the rock (owing to its broken and uneven surface);  
 3 x-š-[a-y-θ-i]-y KT,W,K, x-š-a-[y-θ-i-y : i]-m R;  
 4 a-u-r-[m-z-d]-a-h W,K, whereas KT had a-u-r-[m-z-d-a-h :] a-h and R a-u-[r-m-z-d-a-h : a]-h by error;  
 5 y-θ-a : x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y] : a-b-v-m KT,W,K, y-θ-a-[m-i-y : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a :] a-b-v : a-d-m R (changed by Rawlinson 1850, V, into y-θ-a : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a : a-b-v, both with an entirely wrong reading and restoration, however, which was corrected for the first time by WB);  
 6 v-š-n-[a : a-u-r]-m-z-d-a-h KT,W,K, v-š-n-[a : a-u-r-m]-z- R || a-d-m-š-i-š K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron 1951, 50f., who read "certain ša" and thus confirmed this reading, which had been postulated for grammatical reasons first by Weißbach 1907, 728),

whereas KT,K<sup>1</sup> ("confirmed by Cameron"!)) had read a-d-m-š-i-m and R even a-d-m-š-a-m; -m-š-i ●●●š on the rock;

- 7 x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y]-a KT,W,K, x-š-[a-y-θ-i-y-a] R;  
 8 [h-u-v : a-du]-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y KT,W,K, [h-u-v : a-du]-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u- R; but there seem to be faint traces of [h<sup>u</sup>]-[u-v];  
 9 y : ● a ●● m<sup>i</sup>-i on the rock || [: h-y : k<sup>u</sup>-u]-r-u-š KT,W,K, : [h-y : k<sup>u</sup>-u-r-u]-š R;  
 10 a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š [I a-ç-i]-n KT,W,K (Kent's non-italic i, which seems to indicate [a-ç]-i-n, obviously being misprinted), a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-[u-š : I a-ç-i-n] : R || u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y here (according to the photograph, cfr. Schmitt 1990, 36f.), u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y R,KT (cfr. W's note d on p. 59);  
 11 a-[θ-h : a-d-m] : KT,W,K, a-[θ-h : a-d-m : x]-š-a-y-θ-i-y R, whereas the absence of any italics in WB is presumably a printer's error (*pace* Kent 1953, 131a);  
 12 h-[m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y]-m KT,W,K, h-m<sup>i</sup>-[i-ç-i-y-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u]-n-u-š R || : I n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r here (more exactly I n-i ●●● di-i-; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 38f.), m-n-a : [I n]-di-i- K (following Cameron 1951, 50f., to whom m-n-a was fully visible), [m]-n-a [: I n]-di-i- KT,W, m-n-a : I n-di-i- R (cfr. both Rawlinson 1847, lvii, and the addendum in Rawlinson 1850, VI);  
 13 : h-u-v [:] a-du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y KT,W,K (who has the first word divider preceding h-u-v in italics, however, obviously by mistake), : [h-u-v : a-du]-u-r<sup>u</sup>- R || a ●●● v-θ-a on the rock;  
 14 n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-[c-r : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y] KT,W,K, -i-y :] R || -t-h ●● y : p ●● u-ç : on the rock;  
 15 [: h-m<sup>i</sup>-i]-ç-i-y-m KT,W,K, -u-[m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y]-m R || : I ● m ● r ● t-i-y on the rock;  
 16 [a]-[d<sup>u</sup>]-[u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 39), [a-du]-u-[r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y KT,W,K;

17 š : a-mi-i-y : u-v-j-i-[y : x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y : h-u-v : u-v-j-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-  
 18 m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : I f-r-v-r-[t-i]-š : n-a-m : m-a-d : h-u-v : a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y  
 19 : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-[d]-m [ : x]-š-[θ-r]-i-t : a-mi-i-y : u-v-x-š-t-r-h-y : t-u-m-a-y-  
 20 a : h-u-v : m-a-d-m : [h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m] : a-ku-u-n-u-š : I c-i-ç-t-x-m : n-a-m : a-s-  
 21 g-r-t-i-y : h-u-v : a-du<sup>1</sup>-[u]-ru-u-ji-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : x-š-a-y-θ-  
 22 i-y : a-mi-i-y : a-s-g-[r-t-i-y : ] u-v-x-š-t-r-h-y : t-u-m-a-y-a : h-u-v  
 23 : a-s-g-r-t-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-[y-m] : a-ku-u-n-u-š : I f-r-a-d : n-a-m :  
 24 m-a-r-g-v : h-u-v : a-[du]-u-[ru]-u-ji-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m :  
 25 x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-[mi-i-y : m-r]-g-u-v : h-u-v : m-r-gu-u-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-  
 26 y-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š [ : I v-h-y]-z-d-a-t : n-a-m : p-a-r-s : h-u-v : a-  
 27 du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y : a-v-[θ-a : a-θ-h] : a-d-m : b-r-di-i-y : a-mi-i-y : h-y : ku-u-  
 28 r-u-š : p-u-ç : h-[u-v : p-a-r]-s-m : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š : I a-r-  
 29 x : n-a-m : a-r-mi-i-n-[i-y : h-u-v : ] a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : n-b-  
 30 u-ku-u-d-r-c-r : a-mi-i-y [ : h-y : n-b-u]-n-i-t-h-y : p-u-ç : h-u-v : b-a-b-i-ru-u-m : h-mi-  
 31 i-ç-i-y-m : a-ku-u-n-u-š ●● : θ-a-[t]-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m-i-y :  
 32 IX : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a : t-y-[i-y : a-d]-m : a-g-r-b-a-y-m : a-t-r : i-m-a : h-m-r-n-a ●  
 33 ● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-[š : x-š]-a-y-θ-i-y : d-h-y-a-v : i-m-a : t-y-a : h-mi-i-ç-i-y-  
 34 a : a-b-v : d-r-u-g-di-i-[š : h-mi-i-ç]-i-y-a : a-ku-u-n-u-š : t-y : i-m-i-y : k-a-r-m : a-du-u-ru-  
 35 u-ji-i-y-š : p-s-a-v-di-i-[š : ] a-[u-r-m-z]-d-a : m-n-a : d-s-t-y-a : a-ku-u-n-u-š : y-θ-a : m-a-m : k-  
 36 a-m : a-v-θ-a-di-i-[š : a-ku-u-n-v-m] ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-  
 37 y : tu-u-v-m : k-a : x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y : h]-y : a-p-r-m : a-h-y : h-c-a : d-r-u-g-a : d-r-š-m :  
 38 p-t-i-p-y-u-v-a : m-r-t-[i-y : h-y : d-r-u]-j-n : a-h-t-i-y : a-v-m : u-f-r-š-t-m : p-r-s-a : y-

17 u-v-j-i-[y : x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y KT,W,K, -y-θ-i-y R;  
 18 f-r-v-r-[t-i]-š KT,W,K, f-r-[v-r-t-i-š : ] R;  
 19 a-[d]-m [ : x]-š-[θ-r]-i-t KT,W,K, a-[d-m : x-š-θ-r]-i-t R;  
 20 [h-mi-i-ç-i-y-m] : KT,W,K, -y-m : ] R;  
 21 [ : a-du<sup>1</sup>-[u]-ru-u-ji-i-y here (on account of the traces visible on the photograph), [ :  
 a-du-u]-ru-u-ji-i-y KT,W,K, [ : a-du-u-ru]-u- R;  
 22 a-s-g-[r-t-i-y : ] KT,W,K, a-s-g-r-[t-i-y : u-v]-x-š-t-r-h-y R;  
 23 h-mi-i-ç-i-[y-m] KT,W,K, h-[mi-i-ç-i-y-m] R;  
 24 h-u-v : a-[du]-u-[ru]-u-ji-i-y KT,W,K, h-u-[v : a-du-u]-ru-u- R;  
 25 a-[mi-i-y : m-r]-g-u-v KT,W,K, m-r-g]-u-v R || K<sup>2</sup>'s "hamici-" is a misprint;  
 26 at the beginning of the line vacant space for one character left blank because of the  
 broken surface of the rock (as first observed by KT) || [ : I v-h-y]-z-d-a-t KT,W,K,  
 -y-z]-d-a-t R;  
 27 a-v-[θ-a : a-θ-h] KT,W,K, [a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h] R;  
 28 h-[u-v : p-a-r]-s-m KT,W,K, -r-s]-m R;  
 29 a-r-mi-i-n-[i-y : h-u-v : ] KT,W,K, h-u-v : a-du]-u-ru-u-ji-i-y R;  
 30 [ : h-y : n-b-u]-n-i-t-h-y KT,W,K, n-b-u-n]-i-t- R;  
 31 θ-a-[t]-i-y KT,W,K, a-ku-u-n-u-š ●● : θ-a]-t-i-y R;  
 32 : t-y-[i-y : a-d]-m here on the basis of legible traces of t-y- (cfr. Schmitt 1986a, 124<sup>17</sup>);

1990, 40f.), [ : a-d]-m (without relative pronoun) KT,W,K, x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-[a : a-d-m  
 : a-g]-r-b-a-y-m R;  
 33 ● : θ-a-t-i-y (the first vacant space ● being left blank at the end of line 32; cfr. Schmitt  
 1990, 24) || d-a-r-y-v-u-[š : x-š]-a-y-θ-i-y here, -y-[v-u-š : x-š-a]-y-θ- KT,W,K,  
 -y-[v-u-š : x-š-a-y]-θ- R;  
 34 d-r-u-g-di-i-[š : h-mi-i-ç]-i-y-a here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 42), d-r-u-g : (sic) di-i-[š  
 : h-mi-i-ç-i-y]-a KT,W,K, d-r-u-g : di-[i- + + + : a]-ku-u-n-u-š R (but d-r-u-g-  
 di-i-[+ as "a single word", combined with an erroneous restoration, according to  
 Rawlinson 1850, VI);  
 35 p-s-a-v-di-i-[š : ] a-[u-r-m-z]-d-a here according to the traces visible (cfr. Schmitt  
 1990, 42), p-s-a-v : (sic) di-i-[š : a-u-r-m-z]-d-a KT,W,K, p-s-a-v : di-[i- + + + +  
 : d-r-u-g] : m-n-a R;  
 36 a-v-θ-a ●● di-i-[š here (plainly with two blank spaces, but no word divider; cfr.  
 Schmitt 1990, 42), a-v-θ-a : (sic) di-i-[š : a-ku-u-n-v-m] KT,W,K, -θ-a : di-i-[+ +  
 : a-ku-u-n-u-š] R;  
 37 x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y : h]-y KT,W,K, -i-y : ] h-y R;  
 38 m-r-t-[i-y : h-y : d-r-u]-j-n KT,W,K, h-y : ] d-r-u-j-n Rawlinson 1850, VI ("indis-  
 tinctly traced upon the rock"), by which his former restoration m-r-[t-i-y : h-y :  
 a-r-i-k : ] has been superseded || u-f-r-š-t-m KT,W,K, u-f-r-s-t-m R;



39 di-i-y : a-v-θ-a : m-n-[i-y]-a-[h-y] : d-h-y-a-u-š-m-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a : a-h-t-i-  
 40 y●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-[r-y]-v-u-[š] : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-y : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m :  
 41 v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h [ : h ]-m-[h]-y-a-y-a : θ-r-d : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m : k-a : h-y  
 42 : a-p-r-m : i-m-a-m : di-i-p-i-[m] : p-t-i-p-r-s-a-h-y : t-y : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : v-r-n-v-t-a-m  
 43 : θ-u-v-a-m : m-a-t-y : d-r-[u-g]-m : m-n-i-y-a-h-y ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-  
 44 y-θ-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h [ : r ]-g-m : [v]-r-di-i-y-i-y : y-θ-a : i-m : h-š-i-y-m : n-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-  
 45 x-t-m : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-[v-m : h-m]-h-y-a-y-a : θ-r-d ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-  
 46 θ-i-y : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-[m-z-d-a-h] : u-t-a-m-i-y : a-n-i-y-š-c-i-y : v-s-i-y : a-s-t-i-y : k-r-t-  
 47 m : a-v : a-h-y-a-y-a : di-[i]-p-[i-y]-a : n-i-y : n-i-p-i-š-t-m : a-v-h-y-r-a-di-i-y : n-i-y : n-  
 48 i-p-i-š-t-m : m-a-t-y : [h-y : ] 'a-p<sup>l</sup>-r-m : i-m-a-m : di-i-p-i-m : p-t-i-p-r-s-a-t-i-y : a-v-h-  
 49 y-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v : θ-d-y-a-[t-i-y : t-y] : m-n-a : k-r-t-m : n-i-š-[i-m : ] i-m : v-r-n-v-a-t-i-y : d<sup>u</sup>-  
 50 u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x-t-m : m-n-i-y-a-[t-i-y] ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : t-y-i-y  
 51 : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-[a : ] y-a-t-a : a-h : a-v-i-š-a-m : a-v-a : n-i-y : a-s-t-i-y : k-r-  
 52 t-m : y-θ-a : m-n-a : v-[š-n-a] : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : h-m-h-y-a-y-a : θ-r-d : k-r-t-m ●● : θ-a-  
 53 t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-[š-a]-y-θ-i-y : n<sup>u</sup>-u-r-m : θ-u-v-a-m : v-r-n-v-t-a-m : t-y : m-n-  
 54 a : k-r-t-m : a-v-θ-a : k-a-r-h-y-a : θ-a-di-i-y : m-a : a-p-g-u-d-y : y-di-i-y : i-m-a-m :  
 55 h-d<sup>u</sup>-u-g-a-m : n-i-y : a-p-g-[u]-d-[y-a]-h-y : k-a-r-h-y-a : θ-a-h-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : θ-u-v-a-m :  
 56 d-u-š-t-a : b-i-y-a : u-t-a-[t]-i-y : t-u-m-a : v-s-i-y : b-i-y-a : u-t-a : d-r-g-m : ji-i-v-a ●●  
 57 : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : [x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y : y-di-i-y : i-m-a-m : h-d<sup>u</sup>-u-g-a-m : a-p-g-u-d-y-a-

39 m-n-[i-y]-a-[h-y] here (according to the photograph), m-n-[i-y-a-h-y] KT,W, m-n-[i-  
 y-a-h-i-y] K (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 43), m-[n-i-y-a-h-y] R;  
 40 d-a-[r-y]-v-u-[š] here, -v-[u-š] KT,W,K, whereas this royal name is entirely restored  
 in R || K's "xsāyaθiya" is a printer's error;  
 41 [ : h ]-m-[h]-y-a-y-a KT,W,K, a-u-r-m-[z-d-a-h : h]-m-h-y- R (wrongly recorded  
 by Kent 1953, 131a);  
 42 di-i-p-i-[m] KT,W,K, di-[i-p-i-m : p-t-i]-p-r-s-a-h-y R;  
 43 : d-r-[u-g]-m : m-n-i-y-a-h-y K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron 1951, 51a), [ : d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u]-ji-i-y-  
 a-h-y KT (but [d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-ji-i-y-a-h-y first conjectured by Rawlinson 1850, VI), [ :  
 d-r-u]-ji-i-y- W,K<sup>1</sup> (following Bartholomae), [d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x-t-m : m-n-i]-y-a-h-y WB,  
 only + + +]-i-y-a-h-y R;  
 44 a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h [ : r ]-g-m : [v]-r-di-i-y-i-y here, in the main following Cameron 1951,  
 51a; 1960, 67ab (where -d-a-h : b/r-g-m : m/v-b(*sic*)-t-i-), by whose reading all pre-  
 vious restorations and interpretations have become obsolete, but preferring [v]-r-di-i-  
 y-i-y on the evidence of the clear traces visible on the rock;  
 45 a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-[v-m : h-m]-h-y-a-y-a KT,W,K, : h-m-h]-y-a-y-a R;  
 46 a-u-r-[m-z-d-a-h] : u-t-a-m-i-y K (following Cameron 1951, 51a, who thus confirmed  
 an old conjecture), a-u-r-[m-z-d-a-h : a-p]-i-m-i-y KT,W, : t-y]-m-i-y R (abandoned  
 in Rawlinson 1850, VI, where]-a-m-i-y is called "certain");  
 47 di-[i]-p-[i-y]-a KT,W,K, a-h-y-a-y-[a : di-i-p-i-y-a] R;  
 48 m-a-t-y : [h-y : ] 'a-p<sup>l</sup>-r-m here, m-a-t-[y : h-y : a-p]-r-m KT,W,K, a-p-r]-m R;  
 49 θ-d-y-a-[t-i-y : t-y] : m-n-a K (following Cameron 1951, 51ab), θ-d-[ Jackson 1903,  
 89, θ-d-[y-a : t-y] : m-n-a W (thus abandoning WB's θ-d-[y-a-t-i-y : t-y] : m-n-a),  
 θ-a-[d<sup>u</sup>-u-t-i-y : t-y] : m-n-a KT (against which Weißbach 1907, 728), θ-a-[ R || n-i-š-

[i-m : ] i-m W (replacing n-i-š-[i-y : ] proposed by Weißbach 1907, 728), K, n-i-š-[ + -  
 + ]-i-m KT, n-i-š ● i-d R (*d* being "more like" *m* for Rawlinson 1850, VII);  
 50 m-n-i-y-a-[t-i-y] KT,W,K, whereas we find m-n-i-y-t-[i-y] in Jackson 1903, 89, and  
 -y-[a-h-y in R ("entirely lost");  
 51 x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-[a : ] y-a-t-a K<sup>2</sup> (after Cameron 1951, 51b), -θ-[i-y-a : y]-a-t-a KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>  
 (cfr. also Jackson 1903, 89), -θ-[i-y-a + + +]-a : a-[h] R || a-v-a R,KT,W,K (cfr.  
 Cameron, l.c.);  
 52 v-[š-n-a] KT,W,K, v-[š-n-a : a-u-r]-m-z-d-a-h R || θ-r-d : k-r-t-m WB,KT,W,K,  
 [θ-r-d] : d<sup>u</sup>-u-v-r-t-m R;  
 53 x-[š-a]-y-θ-i-y : n<sup>u</sup>-u-r-m KT,W,K (cfr. Jackson 1903, 90), -v-u-[š : x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y  
 [ : + - + - + ] n<sup>u</sup>-u-r-m R (cfr. Rawlinson 1847, lxi; 1850, VII);  
 54 : k-a-r-h-y-a : θ-a-di-i-y here (following Cameron 1960, 67f., who accepted the  
 emendation of Benveniste 1951, 26f., 50), -y-a : r-a- K (after Cameron 1951, 51b;  
 but cfr. Kent 1953, 130b: "*rā* of *rādiy* slightly doubtful"), : s-a-[ + + +]-d-[ + + +]-  
 a-di-i-y KT,W, : [ + - + - + : a-v-h]-y-r-a-di-i-y R;  
 55 h-d<sup>u</sup>-u-g-a-m WB,KT,W,K, first Rawlinson 1850, VII (thus abandoning his  
 erroneous former reading : di-i-p-i-m) || a-p-g-[u]-d-[y-a]-h-y here, a-p-g-[u]-d-[y-a-  
 h]-y K<sup>2</sup> (whereas Cameron 1951, 51b, printed a-p-g-[u-d-y-a]-h-y), [a]-p-[g-u]-d-[y-  
 a-h]-y KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, a-p-g-u-d-y-a-h-y Rawlinson 1850, VII (though "traced with  
 difficulty");  
 56 u-t-a-[t]-i-y KT,W,K, u-[t-a-t-i-y : t-u-m]-a R;  
 57 no blank space at the beginning of the line (*pace* R) || [x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y KT,W,K, d-a-r-  
 [y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y]-θ-i-y R || h-d<sup>u</sup>-u-g-a-m first in Rawlinson 1850, VIII;

58 h-y : n-i-y : θ-a-h-y : [k]-a-r-[h-y]-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t- <i>-y : j-t-a : b-i-y-a : u-t-a-t-i-y : t-u-m-  
 59 a : m-a : b-i-y-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m : t-y : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m :  
 60 h-m-h-y-a-y-a : θ-r-d : [v-š]-n-a : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m-i-y : u-p-s-  
 61 t-a-m : a-b-r : u-t-a : a-n-[i-y-a-h : b]-g-a-h : t-y-i-y : h-t-i-y •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-  
 62 š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-v-h-[y]-r-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-m-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : u-p-s-t-a-m : a-b-r : u-t-a : a-n-i-  
 63 y-a-h [:] b-g-a-h : t-y-i-[y : h-t-i]-y : y-θ-a : n-i-y : a-r-i-k : a-h-m : n-i-y : d-r-u-j-n : a-h-m : n-  
 64 i-y : z-u-r-k-r : a-h-m : n-i-y : a-d-m : n-i-m-i-y : t-u-m-a : u-p-r-i-y : a-r-š-t-a-m : u-p-r-i-y-  
 65 a-[y]-m : n-i-y : š-k-u-θ-i-m : n-i-y : t<sup>u</sup>-[u<sup>1</sup>]-n<sup>u</sup>-u-v-t-m : z-u-r : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : m-r-t-i-y : h-y : h-m-t-  
 66 x-š-t-a : m-n-a : v<sup>i</sup>-θ-i-y-a : a-v-m : u-b-r-t-m : a-[b]-r-m : h-y : v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-n-a-θ-y : a-v-m : u-f-r-š-t-  
 67 m : a-p-r-s-m •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m : [k-a<sup>1</sup>] : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y :  
 68 h-y : a-p-r-m : a-h-y : m-r-t-i-[y] : h-[y] : d-r-u-j-n : a-h-t-i-y : h-y-v-a : [z-u]-r-k-r : a-h-t-  
 69 i-y : a-v-i-y : m-a : d-u-š-t-a : [b-i-y]-a : u-f-r-š-t-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-š : p-r-s-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-  
 70 y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m : k-a : h-y : a-p-r-m : i-m-a-m : d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-m : v-i-n-a-h-y : t-y-  
 71 a-m : a-d-m : n-i-y-p-i-θ-m : i-m-i-v-a : p-t-i-k-r-a : m-a-t-y : v<sup>i</sup>-i-k-n-a-h-y : y-a-v-a : d-  
 72 θ-s : a-h-y : a-v-θ-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> [:] p-r-i-b-r-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : y-

- 58 [k]-a-r-[h-y]-a here, [k]-a-r-[h-y-a] KT,W,K, [k-a-r-h-y-a] Rawlinson 1850, VIII (filling up the gap of the first edition) || a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t- <i>-y here in place of -t-y as commonly edited;  
 60 [v-š]-n-a here (according to the traces legible), [v-š-n]-a KT,W,K, θ-r-[d : v-š-n-a : a-u-r]-m-z- R;  
 61 a-n-[i-y-a-h : b]-g-a-h KT,W,K, [a-n-i-y-a : b-g]-a-h R;  
 62 x • š-a-y-θ-i-y on the rock || a-v-h-[y]-r-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-m-i-y according to the photograph (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 44f.), a-v-h-[y]-r-a-[d<sup>i</sup>-i-y] KT,W,K, whereas in R the entire form had merely been restored;  
 63 y-a-h [:] KT,W,K, y-a R || t-y-i-[y : h-t-i]-y : y-θ-a here (according to the traces visible on the photograph), t-y-i-[y : h-t-i-y : y-θ]-a KT,W,K, t-y-[i-y R || a-r-i-k here (with R and in agreement with the visible traces of the last character, which seem to exclude c, as considered by KT), a-r-i-[k] KT,W,K;  
 64 : n-i-y : a-d-m : n-i-m-i-y : K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron 1951, 51b), [n-i-y : a]-d-[m : n]-i-m-i-y KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, but a-d-m already ascertained by Jackson 1903, 90 (whereas a space is left blank before -i-m-i-y by Rawlinson 1850, VIII) || a-r-š-t-a-m first conjectured by Foy 1899, 45, and later read this way with certainty by Jackson 1903, 91f., and KT (thus eliminating R's erroneous readings);  
 65 a-[y]-m K (following Cameron 1951, 51f., who confirmed an old conjecture found, i.a., in WB and W), whereas Rawlinson 1850, VIII, had : m-a-m (cfr. Jackson 1903, 93) and KT no restoration at all || š-k-u-θ-i-m here (according to the clearly legible traces of θ rather than r, which confirm an old conjecture of 1933 in Benveniste 1979, 119; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 46f.), š-k-u-r-i-m : n-i-y K (after Cameron, l.c.; cfr. Jackson 1903, 92f.), š-k-u-r-i-[m : + - +] KT, -r-i-[m : n-i-y : ] W, -r-i-m : + - + Rawlinson 1850, VIII || t<sup>u</sup>-[u<sup>1</sup>]-n<sup>u</sup>-u-v-t-m here (on account of the traces legible), t<sup>u</sup>-[u]-n<sup>u</sup>-u-v-t-m KT,K (cfr. Cameron, l.c.), ]-n<sup>u</sup>-u-v-t-m W (cfr. already Jackson 1903, 93f.), ]-h-u-v-t-m Rawlinson, l.c. || z-u-r : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m KT,W,K (cfr. Jackson 1903, 94, and already Rawlinson, l.c., who corrected his first reading z-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u) || m-r-t-i-y : h-y WB,W,K, t(?) -y(?) -m-i-y : h-y Rawlinson, l.c., whereas KT omitted h-y (by an

- oversight);  
 66 v<sup>i</sup>-θ-i-y-a : a-v-m K<sup>2</sup> (cfr. Cameron 1951, 52a, and already Rawlinson 1850, VIII, correcting his former reading v<sup>i</sup>-θ-i-b-[i-š], v<sup>i</sup>-θ-i-[y-a : a]-v-m KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> || a-[b]-r-m KT,W,K, a-b-r-m Rawlinson, l.c. (against the original k-r-t-m : a-d-m) || v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-n-a-θ-y here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 47f.), -n-a-[θ]-y K (as conjectured by Foy 1899, 46), -n-a-[s]-y KT,W || a-v-m first Rawlinson, l.c., a-v KT (erroneously) || u-f-r-š-t W (cfr. his note e on p. 66) and here (in accordance with the traces visible; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 48), u-f-r-s-t KT,K (and first Rawlinson, l.c.);  
 67 [k-a<sup>1</sup>] here, [k-a] KT,W,K, [k-a : x-š-a-y-θ]-i-y R;  
 68 m-r-t-i-[y] KT,W,K || h-[y] here, [h-y] KT,W,K || [z-u]-r-k-r KT,W,K, whereas R had only + -t-r- + - + (WB [a]-t-r-[t-a]) || : •• a-h-t on the rock (pace Cameron 1951, 52a, according to whom the gap is only large enough for one sign), whereas KT,W reckoned with possible traces of characters, though nothing is missing;  
 69 d-u-š-t-a KT,W,K (first Rawlinson 1850, IX; cfr. Jackson 1903, 94) || [b-i-y]-a W,K (first Weißbach 1907, 729), [ + + + ]-a KT, a-v-i-y Rawlinson, l.c., but "illegible" to Jackson, l.c. || u-f-r-š-t-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-š here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 48f.), -a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-y KT,W,K, a-t-i-f-r- R, corrected to a-h-i-f-r- in Rawlinson, l.c. (cfr. Jackson, l.c.);  
 70 t<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m W,K<sup>2</sup>, [t<sup>u</sup>-u]-v-m KT (in the transcription only), K<sup>1</sup>, and already Rawlinson 1847, lxiii (which is at variance with p. xix);  
 71 n-i-y-p-i-θ-m here on account of the traces legible (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 50f.), -p-i-[š]-m KT,W,K, -p-i-[š-m R (cfr. Rawlinson 1850, IX) || : i-m-i-v-a here, [ : i]-m-i-v-a R,KT,W,K || v<sup>i</sup>-i-k-n-a-h-y WB,W,K (cfr. Jackson 1903, 94; Cameron 1951, 52a), v<sup>i</sup>-i-s-n- R,KT;  
 71f. d-θ-s (Cameron *apud* Gershevitch 1959, 198, d-d<sup>i</sup>(?) -s Cameron 1951, 52a, d(?) -t-s(?) KT, u-t-v K (assuming haplography and following an older conjecture), whereas the restoration [j]-i-v-a-h-y (as first proposed by Rawlinson 1850, IX) has rightly been abandoned since WB's 1908 addenda (p. XIII);  
 72 a-v-θ-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup> here according to the clear traces of -d<sup>i</sup>-i- (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 51f.), a-v-θ-a-š-t-a KT,W,K || p-r-i-b-r-a here (with certain b), p-r-i-[b]-r-a KT,W,K;

73 di-i-y : i-m-a-m : di-i-p-i-m : v-i-n-a-h-[y :] i-m-i-v-a : p-t-i-k-r-a : n-i-y-di-i-š : vi-i-k-n-a-h-y : u-t-a-  
 74 t-i-y : y-a-v-a : t-u-m-a [ : a-h-t-i-y ] : p-r-i-b-r-a-h-di-i-š : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : θ-u-v-a-m : d-u-š-t-a : b-i-y-  
 75 a : u-t-a-t-i-y : t-u-[m]-a : v-s-i-y : b-i-[y]-a : u-t-a : d-r-g-m : ji-i-v-a : u-t-a : t-y : ku-u-n-v-a-h-y  
 76 : a-v-t-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a : u-c-a-r-m : ku-u-n-u-tu-u-v ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-  
 77 y-θ-i-y : y-di-i-y : i-m-[a]-m : di-i-p-i-m : i-m-i-v-a : p-t-i-k-r-a : v-i-n-a-h-y : vi-i-k-n-a-h-di-i-š : u-t-  
 78 a-t-i-y : y-a-v-a : t-u-[m]-a : a-h-t-i-[y : n-i]-y-di-i-š : p-r-i-b-r-a-h-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t-i-y : j-t-a : b-  
 79 i-y-a : u-t-a-t-i-y : t-u-m-[a :] m-a : b-「i」-y-a [ : u-t-a : t-y : ku-u-n-v-a-h-y : a-v-t-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-  
 80 a : n-i-k-tu-u-v ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : i-m-i-y : m-r-t-i-y-a : t-y-i-y  
 81 : a-d-k-i-y : a-v-d-a : [a]-h-t-a : y-a-t-a : a-d-m : g-u-m-a-t-m : t-y-m : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-m : a-v-a-j-n-m :  
 82 h-y : b-r-di-i-y : a-g-[u]-「b」-t-a : a-d-k-i-y [ : i-m-i-y : m-r-t-i-y-a : h-m-t-x-š-t-a : a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a : m-n-  
 83 a : vi-i-d-f-r-n-a : n-a-[m] : v-「h」-y-s-p-「ru-u-v」-h-y-a : p-u-ç : p-a-r-[s] : u-t-a-n : n-a-m : θ-u-x-r-h-y-a  
 84 : p-u-ç : p-a-r-s : g-u-b-ru-u-v : n-a-m : m-r-du-u-n-i-y-h-y-[a : p-u-ç] : p-a-r-s : vi-i-d-r-n : n-a-m : b-  
 85 g-a-b-i-g-n-h-[y]-a [ : p-u-ç : p-a-r-s : b-[g-b]-u-x-š : n-a-m : d-a-「t-v」-h-y-h-y-a : p-u-ç : p-a-r-s :  
 86 a-r-du-u-「m」-n-i-š : 「n-a-m」 [ : v-h-u-k-h-y-「a」 : p-u-ç : p-a-r-s ●● : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-

- 73 di-i-y : i-m-a-m K<sup>2</sup> (after Cameron 1951, 52a), [di-i-y] : i- KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> (but first read by Rawlinson 1850, IX, who thus replaced R's [a-v]-a) || di-i-p-i-m : R (traces being clearly legible on the photograph), di-i-[p-i-m :] KT, W, K || v-i-n-a-h-[y :] KT, W, K, [v-i-n]-a-h-[y :] R || vi-i-k-n-a-h-y : for the *k* cfr. above on line 71;  
 74 t-i-y KT, W, K, m-i-y Rawlinson 1850, IXf. || [ : a-h-t-i-y ] KT, W, K, first read thus by Rawlinson 1850, X || p-r-i-b-r-a-h-di-i-š KT, W, K, [p-r]-i-[k]-r- R;  
 75 t-u-[m]-a here, t-u-[m-a] KT, W, K, t-u-m-a R || b-i-[y]-a KT, W, K, [v-s-i-y : b-i-y]-a R;  
 76 a-v-t-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a KT, W, K (and first Rawlinson 1850, X, abandoning his previous wrong reading; cfr. Jackson 1903, 94) || u-c-a-r-m K (following the restoration of Benveniste 1929, 65f., which on the whole, though not in every detail, seems to be in agreement with the traces seen by KT on the rock and visible on the photograph), [+ - + - + -] -m KT, m-[+ - + - + -] -m Rawlinson, l.c., [ : v-z-r-k]-m W (abandoning WB's m-[z-a-n]-m; cfr. Weibach 1907, 729f.) || ku-u-n-u-tu-u-v WB, KT, W, K, d-n-u- R, j-d-n-u- Rawlinson, l.c.;  
 77 i-m-[a]-m KT, W, K, i-m-[a-m : di-i-p-i-m] R || vi-i-k-n-a-h-di-i-š : for the *k* cfr. Jackson 1903, 95, and above on line 71;  
 78 a-t-i-y KT, W, K, a-m-i-y WB (following Rawlinson 1850, X) || t-u-[m]-a : a-h-t-i-[y : n-i]-y-di-i-š KT, W, K, t-u-m-a : a-h-t-i-y : n-i-y-di-i-š WB (following Rawlinson, l.c.) || p-r-i-b-r-a-h-y KT, W, K, p-r-i-k-r- R;  
 79 t-u-m-[a :] m-a : b-「i」-y-a here (according to the traces), t-u-m-[a : m-a : b-i-y-a] KT, W, K, whereas in R the entire phrase is merely restored;  
 80 d-a-r-y-v-u-š R, here, d-a-[r]-y- KT, W, K;  
 81 [a]-h-t-a KT, W, K, a-h-t-a WB (following Rawlinson 1850, XI);

- 82 a-g-[u]-「b」-t-a here, a-g-[u-b]-t-a KT, W, K, a-g-u-b-t-a R || a-d-k-i-y [ : ] here, -k-i-[y : ] KT, W, K, a-d-[k]-i-y R;  
 83 n-a-[m] KT, W, K, n-a-m R || v-「h」-y-s-p-「ru-u-v」-h-y-a here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 52-54), v-a-[y]-s-p-[a-r]-h-y-a KT, W, K, whereas Rawlinson 1850, XI, had v(?) -y-s-p-a-r(?) -h-y-a || p-a-r-[s] KT, W, K, p-a-r-s R || u-t-a-n : n-a-m WB (following Rawlinson, l.c.), here (on account of the traces), [u]-t-a-[n : n]-a-m KT, W, K || θ-u-x-r-h-y-a R, KT, W, -h-[y]-a K;  
 84 : p-u-ç WB (following Rawlinson 1850, XI; and indeed in part legible), [ : p-u-ç ] KT, W, K || g-u-b-ru-u-v WB, here, [g-u-b-ru]-u-v KT, W, K, g-u-[b-ru-u-v] R || m-r-du-u-n-i-y-h-y-[a : p-u-ç] W, K, -h-y [ : p-u-ç ] KT, [m-r]-du-u-n-i-y-h-y-[a : p-u-ç] R || p-a-r-s here, [p]-a-r-s KT, W, K || vi-i-d-r-n WB, here (since clearly visible), [vi-i]-d-r-n W, K, [v-i]-d-r-n KT (erroneously restored);  
 84f. b-g-a-b-i-g-n-h-[y]-a [ : ] p-u-ç here, b-g-[a]-b-i-g-n-h-[y-a : p]-u-ç KT, W, K, without any brackets in WB (following Rawlinson 1850, XI);  
 85 b-[g-b]-u-x-š KT, W, K, b-g-b-u-x-š WB (following Rawlinson 1850, XI) || d-a-「t-v」-h-y-h-y-a here (on account of the traces legible), d-a-tu-[u]-v-h-y-h-y-a K (after Cameron 1951, 52a: “-「tu」-「u」-「va」-”, for which reading there is not space enough, however), [d-a-du]-h-y-h-y-a WB, KT (and first Rawlinson, l.c.), [d-a-tu]-h-y-h-y-a or [d-du-u-v]-h-y-h-y-a W;  
 86 a-r-du-u-「m」-n-i-š here according to the traces legible (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 54-56), a-r-[du-u]-n-[i-š] KT, W, K, a-r-du-u-m-n-i-š WB (following Rawlinson 1850, XI, XVII) || [ : n-a-m ] [ : ] here (according to the photograph), [ : n-a-m : ] KT, W, K, : n-a-m : WB (after Rawlinson l.c.) || v-h-u-k-h-y-「a」 : p-u-ç here, v-h-u-[k-h]-y-[a : p]-u-ç W, K (first Rawlinson, l.c.), -u-[k-h]-y [ : p]-u-ç KT (erroneously);

- 87 i-y : tu-u-v-m : k-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> : x-š-a-y-[θ]-i-y : h-y : a-p-r-m : a-h-y : t-y-a-m : i-m-i-š-a-m : m-r-t-i-y-a-n-a-  
 88 m : t-u-m-a-m : [u-b- <r>]-t-a-m : p-r-i-b-r-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-š-n-a : a-u-  
 89 r-m-z-d-a-h : i-m : d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-<sup>1</sup>c<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>ç-m :<sup>1</sup>t-y : a-d-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : p-t-i-š-m : a-r-i-y-a : u-t-a : p-v-s-t-  
 90 a-y-[a] : u-t-a : c-r-m-a : g-r-[f-t-m] : 'a-h' : [p-t]-i-š-m-[c]-i-y : [n-a-m-n-a]-f-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : p-[t]-i-š-[m : u]-v-a-d-a-  
 91 [t-m] : [a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n]-v-[m] : u-t-a : n-i-y-p-i-[θ]-i-[y : u]-t-a : p-t-i-y-f-r-θ-i-y : p-i-š-i-y-a : m-a-[m] : p-s-a-[v] : i-m : d<sup>i</sup>-  
 92 i-p-i-<sup>1</sup>c-i-ç<sup>1</sup>-m : f-[r]-a-s-t-a-y-m : v<sup>i</sup>-i-[s]-p-d-a : a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] : k-a-r : h-m-a-[t]-x-š-t-a

87 k-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> here, [k-a] KT, W, K, k-a WB (after Rawlinson 1850, XVII);

87f. m-r-t-i-y-a-n-a-m K (after Cameron 1951, 52a; cfr. first Weißbach 1907, 730), -y-a-n-a-[m] W, -y-a : u-[+ + KT];

88ff. the end of column IV had been neither read nor restored by Rawlinson; likewise KT were able to recover only scattered parts of lines 88ff., so that it seems neither necessary nor meaningful to record all readings from the time before Cameron 1951, 52ab (which hereafter will be abbreviated "C"); after a new collation of his squeezes Cameron sent two letters (dated July 9, 1966, and February 19, 1967) concerning the reading and restoration of "§ 70" to a number of scholars; the content of these "Rundschreiben" (cfr. also Mayrhofer 1970, 277) has been made public in part by Lecoq 1974, 77-79 (which hereafter will be quoted as "CL");

88 t-u-m-a-m K, C, [t]-u-m- W, + + : i-m-a-m KT || [u-b- <r>]-t-a-m K<sup>2</sup>, C (since there is space only for two characters), [u-b-r-t]-a-m K<sup>1</sup>, [u-b-r-t]-a-[m] W (first conjectured in Weißbach 1907, 730) || p-r-i-b-r-a K<sup>2</sup>, C, p-r-[i-b-r]-a KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || x-š-a-y-θ-i-y KT, W, K, -y-[θ-i]-y C || : a-u K, C, [ : a]-u KT, W;

89 r-[m]-z-d-a-h K<sup>2</sup>, C, [r-m-z]-d-a-[h] KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-<sup>1</sup>c<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>ç-m<sup>1</sup> here (on account of the traces legible; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 56-60), d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-[+ + + KT, d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-m-[i-y] K<sup>2</sup>, C (who has -p-i-m(?) -i-[+]), d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-[v<sup>0</sup>-i-d-m] Eilers in CL 78 || a-d-m K, C, +]-a-m KT, W || p-t-i-š-m K, C, [p]-t-i- K<sup>1</sup>, W || a-r-i-y-a K, C || : u-t-a here (more exactly : • u-t-a), : a-h : u-t-a K, C (though not enough space is available between -y-a and u-t-);

89f. p-v-s-t-a-y-[a] K<sup>2</sup>, C, a-v-s-t-[a]-y-[a] K<sup>1</sup> (following König), a-v-s-t-[a]-y-[m] KT, W, [u]-v-s-t-a-y-[a] Hinz 1972, 244;

90 u-t-a : c-r-m-a K<sup>2</sup>, C || g-r-[f-t-m] : 'a-h' here, g-r-[f-t-m : a-h] Hinz 1972, 244, g-r-[+ + + + + + + + + +] C, g-r-[θ-i-t-a : a-h] K<sup>2</sup>, [h]-r-[š-t-m : a-h] Lecoq 1974,

82f. || [p-t]-i-š-m-[c]-i-y here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 60f.), [p-t]-i-š-m-i-y K<sup>2</sup> (and others), [+ + +]-i-š-m-i-[+]-y C (cfr. Cameron in CL 78, where Lecoq mistook *i* for *t*), [n-i-y-p]-i-š-m [ : ] i-y KT || e.g. (unascertainable) [n-a-m-n-a]-f-m or [u-v-a-n-a]-f-m, as conjectured by Harmatta, Hinz, etc., and Mayrhofer respectively (cfr. Lecoq 1974, 83), not [p-t-i-k]-r-m K<sup>2</sup> || a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m : p-[t]-i-š-[m : ] K<sup>2</sup>, C;

90f. [u]-v-a-d-a-[t-m] Harmatta etc. (cfr. Lecoq 1974, 83), [+]-v-a-d-a-[+ ] C, [u]-v-a-d-a-[m] K<sup>2</sup>;

91 [a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n]-v-[m] Cameron in CL 79 (first conjectured by Hinz), [a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m] K<sup>2</sup> || u-t-a KT, K, C || n-i-y-p-i-[θ]-i-[y] Hinz 1972, 244, 249, -p-i-[θ-i-y] K<sup>2</sup>, -p-i-[š]-i-[y] Hinz 1952, 37, [a-p]-i-[θ-i-y] K<sup>1</sup>, d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-[+ + + + +] C (abandoned later) || p-t-i-y-f-r-θ-i-y here (on account of the traces visible to me; first conjectured by Hinz), p-t-i-y-f-r-s-i-y K<sup>2</sup> (following Cameron), [p]-t-i-y-f-[r-š-i]-y Hinz, *ibid.* (abandoning -f-[r-θ-i]-y, of which he had thought first; for details see Hinz, *l.c.*, 36) || p-i-š-i-y-a : m-a-[m] K<sup>2</sup>, C, p-i-[š]-i- K<sup>1</sup>, [+]-i-[+]-i-y-a : m-a-[m] KT || p-s-a-[v] : i-m C (mistakenly changed into i- <m-a> -m by K<sup>2</sup>), p-s-a-v : i-m KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>;

91f. d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-<sup>1</sup>c-i-ç<sup>1</sup>-m here (in accordance with the traces legible and with both the parallel in line 89 and its rendering by Elam. *tup-pi-me*), d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-[v-i]-d-m Lecoq 1974, 83f., d<sup>i</sup>-i-p-i-[y : a]-d-m Hinz 1952, 37, -p-i-[m : a]-d-m K<sup>2</sup> (and others), -p-i-[+ C];

92 f-[r]-a-s-t-a-y-m K<sup>2</sup> (after Hinz 1952, 37), [f-+ + +]-s-t-a-y-m C, ]-a-v-t-a-[ KT, W, [a-m]-a-v-t-a : K<sup>1</sup> || v<sup>i</sup>-i-[s]-p-d-a K<sup>2</sup>, Hinz, *l.c.*, [+ + + + +]-d-a C || a-t-r : d-h-y-a-[v] K, C, etc., -r [ : ] d-h- KT, W || h-m-a-[t]-x-š-t-a K<sup>2</sup>, C, Hinz, *l.c.*, etc., h-m : a-m-x-m-t-a K<sup>1</sup>, h-m-a-[b]-x- Mayrhofer in CL 79, h-m-a-[p-i]-x- Lecoq 1974, 83f. || blank space for about five characters (ca. 22 cm.) at the end of the line according to Cameron (Rundschreiben, no. 1).

## Column V

- 1 : θ-a-t-[i-y : d]-a-r-y-v-u-š [:] x-š-a-y-θ-i-y :
- 2 i-m : t-[y : a-d]-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-[m :] d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-a-
- 3 m-c : ç-<sup>1</sup>i-t<sup>1</sup>-[i-y-a-m :] θ-r-d-m : p-s-[a]-v [:] y-θ-a : x-š-a-y-
- 4 θ-i-y : [a-b-v-m : u]-v-j : n-a-m-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> : d-h-y-a-u-š : h-u-
- 5 v : h-[m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y]-a : a-b-v : [I m-r-t-i-y] : <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-θ-m-i-t : n-a-m : u-
- 6 v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : [a-v-m : m]-θ-i-š-t-m : a-[k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v]-t-a : p-s-a-v : a-d-
- 7 m : k-a-[r-m : f-r-a-i-š]-y-m : [I m-r-t]-i-y : g-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v :
- 8 n-a-m : p-[a-r-s : m]-n-a : b-d-k : a-[v-m-š]-a-m : m-θ-i-š-t-m : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-
- 9 n-v-m : p-[s-a-v :] g-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v : [h-d-a] : k-a-r-a : a-š-i-y-v :

Because of weathering from water and ice, the text of column V is deplorably mutilated, not a single line being complete, so that its restoration even now is far from definitive and there are several passages for which no satisfying solution has yet been achieved. At the top of the inscribed area, which begins six lines higher up than column IV (so that DB IV 1 is on a level with DB V 7), large parts of the rock have been eaten away, the cuneiform characters thus being entirely illegible. Rawlinson had been able to read only the beginnings of lines 1 to 24 and the ends of lines 1 to 35, and though King and Thompson discovered a number of characters not seen by him, their success in reading this column was rather limited. The understanding of the text has made real progress only as a result of Cameron's readings, which were based on autopsy of the rock and on his squeezes, so that numerous studies previous to Cameron 1951 (hereafter abbreviated as "C") are superseded and practically valueless (except for the history of research in this field). Therefore it has not seemed appropriate to give a complete list of earlier attempts at restoring the text in the following notes.

This later supplement to the great inscription is inferior to the main text of columns I-IV in quality; moreover, the presence of column V, which with its mere 36 lines is less than half as high as the other four as well as narrower by a sixth, gives to the design of the Bisitun monument as a whole an asymmetrical shape.

The surface of the rock must have been partly destroyed already at the time of Darius (the upper right corner being entirely missing [see below], even if the last sign of each of lines 4 to 6 seem to have been lost only between 1904 [KT] and 1948 [C]), so that it could not be used for engraving. As a result of this roughness, which did not allow normal characters, spaces have repeatedly been left blank, e.g. in lines 2 *a-k<sup>u</sup> • u* [n-, d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi • i-t-i-y • a-, 3 x • š-a-y, 4 n-a • m, 5 a • b-v, -m • i-t, 6 p • s-a-v, 9 a-š-i-y • v, 20 r-t • h-y, d • a-r-y, 21 s-k • • (two blanks at the end of the line), 23 : • d-r-y, 24 vi • i-y-t-r •, 26 a • b-i-y : m • a-m : u-t • •, 29 p • • s-a-v, 30 [a]-b • v, -y-v • u-š, etc.

Particular notes concerning the reading and the restitution of the text:

- 1 θ-a-t-[i-y R,KT,W,K,C || d]-a-r-y-v-u-š K<sup>2</sup>,C, -v-[u-š KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, d-a]-r-y-v-u-š R || x-š-a-y-θ-i-y K<sup>2</sup>,C, x]-š-a- KT,W,K<sup>1</sup> || the end of the line was obviously never inscribed, since no text is wanting; there is space for ca. five (KT: four) characters (see above);
- 2 t-[y : a-d]-m K<sup>1</sup>,W,K,C || a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-[m :] R,K<sup>2</sup>, -u-[n-v-m :] KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>,C || d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-a- K<sup>2</sup>,C, + +]-t-i-y : a- KT || at the end of the line space for ca. three

(KT: two) characters;

- 3 m-c KT,W,K,C, m-a R || ç-<sup>1</sup>i-t<sup>1</sup>-[i-y-a-m :] here (on account of the traces visible), ç-[i-t-i-y-a-m :] Schmitt 1963, 439 (whereas Dandamaev 1976, 70, prefers -y-a-m-c] without word divider and Klein 1988, 404a, wonders whether or not there is space enough for -y-a-m-c :)], ç-[i-t-a-m-c-a] K<sup>2</sup>,C (first in Kent 1943, 108, 110ab), ç/p-[ + + - + - + - + ] KT (on which basis Weißbach 1907, 730f., suggested ç-[i-t-i-y-a-m] or p-[c-m-a-m], preferring the latter), r-[ + + + R || p-s-[a]-v [:] y-θ-a K<sup>2</sup>,C, y]-θ-a KT;
- 4 : [a-b-v-m : u]-v-j KT,W,K,C (these signs being insufficient, however, to fill the space available), + + +]-v-j-n-m R || n-a-m-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> : d- here, n-a-m-[a] : d-h-y-a-u-š K<sup>2</sup>,C, [n-a-m (sic) : d]-h-y- KT, n-[a-m-a : d]-h-y- W || h-u- R,KT,W,K, h-[u]-C (see above);
- 5 h-[m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y]-a K<sup>2</sup>,C, h-[c-a-m : h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y :] R,KT (corrected to -i-y-a :] by Weissbach 1940, 55), but h-[m<sup>i</sup>-i-ç-i-y-a :] W,K<sup>1</sup> || : [I m-r-t-i-y] : [a]-t-m-i-t K,C (as first proposed by Hüsing), changed here (according to the traces visible) into : <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-θ-m-i-t, thus making obsolete the earlier readings -i-y : + +]-m-m-i-t KT,W, -i-y : + +]-i-m-i-m R || : u- R,KT,W,K, : [u]-C (see above);
- 6 v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : [a-v-m : K<sup>2</sup>, -i-[y : a- KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>,C, i-y-[a : a- R || m]-θ-i-š-t-m K<sup>2</sup>,C, m-θ]-i-š-t-[m KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, m-θ]-i-š-t-m R || : a-[k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v]-t-a K<sup>2</sup>, [: a-k<sup>u</sup>-u- KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>,C, a-[k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v] R || a-d- R,KT,W,K, a-[d]-C (see above);
- 7 k-a-[r-m : f-r-a-i-š]-y-m R,KT (-r-i-š- instead of -r-a-i-š- in the cuneiform text by mistake), W,K ("frais" in K<sup>2</sup> being only a misprint, since the right form is in the glossary), C || : [I m-r-t]-i-y K<sup>2</sup>, -t-i]-y C, : u-[v-j-m : m-r-t-i-y :] KT (by mistake, since there is no space for u-[v-j-m] nor any trace of u according to Cameron 1951, 53b), : u-[v-j-m :] W (shortening KT's reading for lack of space), : u-[v-j-m : I m-r-t]-i-y R || at the end of the line space for three characters;
- 8 p-[a-r-s : m]-n-a K<sup>2</sup>, [: p-a-r-s : m-n]-a KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>, p-[a- R || : a-[v-m-š]-a-m : here (according to the photograph), : a-[v-m-š-a-m : R,K<sup>2</sup>, [: a-v-m-š-m :] KT (erroneously), -š-a-m :] W,K<sup>1</sup>, -š-a-m :] C;
- 9 p-[s-a-v :] g-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v K<sup>2</sup>, [p-s-a-v : g]-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>- C, [p-s-a-v : g-u]-b-r<sup>u</sup>- W, p-[s-a-v : h-u-v : g-u]-b-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v KT,K<sup>1</sup>, ... g]-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>-[u-v R (the space for h-u-v lacking, however, according to C) || : [h-d-a] : k-a-r-a here (according to the clear traces of r), ... -a-[r]-a K<sup>2</sup>,C, [: h-d-a : k-a-r]-a R,KT,W,K<sup>1</sup>;

- 10 u-v-j-m [: h-m-r-n-m] : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : h-[d]-a : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-i-b-i-š : p-s-  
 11 a-v : g-[u-b-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-a : a-j : u-t-a : v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-m-r-d :  
 12 u-t-a : [t-y-m-š-a]-m : m-θ-[i-š-t-m] : a-g-r-b-a-y : a-n-y : a-b-i-  
 13 y : m-a-m [: p-s-a-v-š-i]-m : a-d-[m] : [a-v-a]-j-n-m : p-s-a-v : d-h-y-a-  
 14 u-š : m-n-[a : a-b-v] •• : θ-a-t-[i-y : d-a]-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-  
 15 y : a-v-i-y : [u]-v-[j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y-a : [a-r-i-k-a : a-h] : u-t-a-š-a-m : a-u-r-m-  
 16 z-d-a : [n-i]-y : [a-y]-d<sup>i</sup>-[i]-y : a-u-[r-m-z-d-a]-m : a-y-d-i-y : v-š-n-a : a-  
 17 u-r-m-z-[d-a]-h [: y]-「θ-a<sup>1</sup>」 : m-a-m [: k-a-m : a-v]-θ-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-š : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m  
 18 •• : θ-a-t-[i-y : d-a-r]-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : h-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-  
 19 m : y-d-[a-t-i]-y : y-a-[n-m : a-v-h-y-a] : a-h-t-i-y : u-t-a : j<sup>i</sup>-i-v-h-  
 20 y-a [:] u-[t-a] : m-r-t-h-y-a •• : θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-  
 21 a-y-θ-i-y : p-[s-a-v : h-d]-a : k-[a-r-a : a]-d-m : [a-š]-i-y-v-m : a-b-i-y : s-k-  
 22 a-m : p-s-[a]-v [: s-k-a : t-y]-i-「y<sup>1</sup>」 [:] x-u-[d-a]-m : t-i-g-r-a-m : b-r-t-i-  
 23 y : i-[m-i-y : p-t-i-š : m-a-m : a]-i-š [: y]-「d<sup>i</sup>」-i-y : a-b-i-y : d-r-y : a-

- 10 [: h-m-r-n-m] : a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-u-š : h-[d]-a : K<sup>2</sup>, C, -n-m : a]-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-[u-š ... KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>  
 || u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-i-b-i-š KT, W, K, C, [h-m<sup>1</sup>]-i-ç-i-y-i- R (erroneously);  
 11 g-[u-b-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v KT, W, K, [g-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>]-u-v C || : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-a : a-j here (cfr. Schmitt  
 1990, 61-63), -y-a : [a-v]-a-j K<sup>2</sup>, C, [: ... + a-v]-a-j KT, whereas W, K<sup>1</sup> had [:  
 u-v-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y-a : a-j || v<sup>i</sup>-i-y-m-r-d K<sup>2</sup>, C (first conjectured by Weissbach 1940, 55, 62f.),  
 v-i-y : m-r-d K<sup>1</sup>, d-i-y : m-r-d KT, W, : u-t-a-š-i-y : m-r-d R;  
 12 [t-y-m-š-a]-m K<sup>2</sup>, C, [t-y-m-š-a-m] W, K<sup>1</sup>, whereas KT had an entirely different res-  
 toration || m-θ-[i-š-t-m] : KT, W, K, C (cfr. his note ad loc.);  
 13 m-a-m [: p-s-a-v-š-i]-m here (after the parallel use of /pasāva/ in DB II 88) instead  
 of the syntactically less probable restoration m-a-m [: u-t-a-š-i]-m K<sup>2</sup>, C, m-a-[m :  
 u-t- KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || a-d-[m : a-v-a]-j-n-m KT, W, K, a-[d-m] : [a-v-a] • -j- C || p-s-a-v  
 KT, W, K, [p]-s- C;  
 14 m-n-[a : a-b-v] K<sup>2</sup>, C, [m-n-a : ... KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || θ-a-t-[i-y : d-a]-r-y-v-u-s KT, W, K, C  
 || in passing it may be added that in lines 13/14 Rawlinson went astray and created  
 ex nihilo a surplus line of text (for details cfr. Kent 1943, 111b);  
 15 a-v-i-y : [u]-v-[j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y-a K<sup>2</sup>, C, a-[v-i-y : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>]-i-y-a K<sup>1</sup>, a-[d-k-i-y : u-v-j<sup>i</sup>]-i- KT,  
 whereas W (and even Weissbach 1940, 55) refrained from any attempt to restore the  
 text || : [a-r-i-k-a : a-h] : K (following Hinz 1942, 332, 337f.), [: a-r- C, : [a-t-r-s  
 :] KT || u-t-a-š-a-m K<sup>2</sup>, -a-[m] C, -a-[š]-a-m KT, K<sup>1</sup>, u-t-a- + -a-m W, u-t-a : d-h  
 R;  
 16 : [n-i]-y : [a-y]-d<sup>i</sup>-[i]-y : a-u-[r-m-z-d-a]-m K<sup>2</sup>, C (first conjectured by Hinz 1939,  
 373; 1942, 332), whereas KT had restored the text quite differently and W had left  
 a lacuna;  
 17 u-r-m-z-[d-a]-h [: y-θ-a] K<sup>2</sup> (but there are traces of -「θ-a<sup>1</sup>」, -z-[d-a-h : y-θ-a] C,  
 -m-[z-d- KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>, -m-z-[d-a]-h R || m-a-m [: k-a-m : a-v]-θ-a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-š K<sup>2</sup>, C, m-a-[m  
 : k- KT, Weissbach 1940, 56, whereas W had an additional a-h after k-a-m (for which  
 there is no space);  
 18 θ-a-t-[i-y : d-a-r]-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y K<sup>2</sup>, C, θ-[a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y]-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-  
 θ-i-y KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || a-u-r-m-z-d-a- KT, W, K, C, whereas R had a-p-r-m : i-m (sic);

- 19 y-d-[a-t-i]-y W (following Tolman 1908, 32), K<sup>2</sup>, C (who allows for one or two blank  
 spaces, however) || y-a-[n-m : a-v-h-y-a] : K<sup>2</sup> (cfr. Kent 1951, 56b, 57a), y-a-  
 [+ + + + +] : C, y-a-[v-a : t-u-m-a : a]-h-t-i-y KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>, y-a-[v-i-š-i-y : a-r-t-m]  
 : Gershevitch 1959, 250f.; Hinz 1972, 245, 250, y-a-[n-m-š-i-y : d-a-t-m] : Her-  
 renschmidt 1984, 155f. (on the whole problem cfr. Schmitt 1990, 63-66) || j<sup>i</sup>-i-v-h-  
 R, KT, W, K, -v-[h]- C;  
 20 [:] u-[t-a :] m-r-t-h-y-a K<sup>2</sup> (following a conjecture by Weissbach 1940, 56, 63f.; Hinz  
 1942, 333), [:] u-[t-a : +]-r-t-h-y-[a] C (who ascertained that there is no space for  
 another word before θ-a-t-i-y, as had been supposed by several scholars), [:] u-[t-a  
 : m]-r-t- Hinz 1972, 245, [: d-r-g ...]-y-a-[ KT, [: u-t-a : ...] W (after Foy) ||  
 [: θ-a-t-i]-y KT, W, K, C || x-š- R, KT, W, K, x-[š]- C;  
 21 a-y-θ-i-y K<sup>2</sup>, C, a-y-[θ-i-y KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>, a-y-θ-[i-y R || p-[s-a-v : h-d]-a : k-[a-r-a : a]-d-  
 m K<sup>2</sup> (first proposed by Kent 1943, 112b, who interpreted KT's reading s as misread  
 for k as in several other cases), C, whereas KT by their ]-a : s-[ came to another  
 restoration (as did other scholars, too) || [a-š]-i-y-v-m R, KT, W, K, C;  
 22 p-s-[a]-v [: s-k-a Hinz 1972, 246; Harmatta 1976, 22=26, p-s-[a] : s-[k-a K<sup>2</sup> (cfr.  
 Kent 1951, 56b, 57a; 1952, 16, 17b), p-s-[a]-v [: + + + + + C, whereas still Kent 1943,  
 108, and K<sup>1</sup> had [: a-b-i-y : s-k-a and Weissbach 1940, 56, even [: a-b-i-y : a-v-a  
 (followed by Hinz 1939, 364; 1942, 333) || t-y]-i-「y<sup>1</sup>」[:] x-u-[d-a]-m here (cfr. Schmitt  
 1990, 66f.), -i-[y : x-u-d-a]-m K (accepting an old emendation of Oppert), whereas  
 there is nothing between p-s-[a]-v and : t-i-g-r-a-m in C and only i-[ + + + + +]-m  
 in KT || b-r-t-i- K<sup>2</sup>, C, b-r-t- R, KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>;  
 23 : i-[m-i-y : p-t-i-š : m-a-m : a]-i-š [: y-d<sup>i</sup>]-i-y Hinz 1972, 246, 251 (which restoration  
 seems to be compatible with the traces visible), : i-[m-i-y : s-k-a : h-c-a-m : a]-i-š  
 [: y-d<sup>i</sup>]-i-y K<sup>2</sup>, : i-[ca. 15]-i-š-[ + + + + +]-i-y C, whereas the other recent restorations  
 by Dandamaev 1963b, 176, : i-[m-i-y : h-m-r-n-m : c-r-t-n-i-y : a]-i-š [: y-d<sup>i</sup>]-i-y,  
 and by Harmatta 1976, 22=26, : i-[m-i-y : s-k-a : p-t-i-š : m-a-m : a]-i-š [: a-d-k]-i-y,  
 do not fit for lack of space (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 68f.) || [: y]-「d<sup>i</sup>」-i-y here according  
 to the traces visible (cfr. Schmitt, *ibid.*);

- 24 v-a-[r-s-m : d]-r-x-[t]-a : [a-v : h-d-a : k-a-r]-a : vi-i-s-a : vi-i-y-t-r-  
 25 y-m [ : p-s-a-v ] : a-v-i-y [ : ] s-k-[a : a-d-m] : a-j-n-m : a-n-i-y-m : a-g-  
 26 r-b-a-y [ : h-u-v : b]-s-t [ : a-n-y-t-a ] : a-b-i-y : m-a-m : u-t-  
 27 a-š-[a-m : h-y : ] m-θ<sup>1</sup>-i-š-t [ : a-h : ] s-[ku]-u-x : n-a-m : a-v-m : a-g-  
 28 r-b-a-[y : b-s-t]-m [ : ] a-n-y [ : a-b-i-y : m-a-m ] : a-v-d-a : a-n-i-y-m : m-θ-  
 29 i-š-t-[m] : a-ku-u-n-v-m : y-[θ-a : ] m-a-m : [k]-a-m : a-h : p-s-a-v : d-  
 30 h-y-a-[u-š : m]-n-a [ : a]-b-v ●● [ : θ-a-t-i]-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-  
 31 θ-i-[y : a-v-i-y : ] s-[k]-a : a-r-i-[k-a : a]-h [ : ] u-t-a : n-i-y : a-u-r-m-z-d-  
 32 a-š-a-m : a-y]-d-i-y : a-u-r-m-[z]-d-[a-m : ] a-y-d-i-y : v-š-n-a : a-u-r-m-  
 33 z-d-a-[h : y]-θ-a : m-a-m : k-a-m : [a-v-θ-a-d-i]-š : a-ku-u-n-v-m ●● : θ-a-t-  
 34 i-y [ : d-a]-r-y-v-u-š [ : x]-š-a-y-θ-i-y [ : h-y ] : a-u-r-m-z-d-a-m : y-d-a-t-  
 35 i-y [ : a-v-h-y]-a [ : y-a-n]-m : [a-h-t-i-y : ] u-t-a : j<sup>1</sup>-i-v-h-y-a : u-t-a  
 36 : m-[r-t-h-y]-a

- 24 v-a-[r-s-m : d]-r-x-[t]-a : [a-v : h-d-a : k-a-r]-a here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 69–71), v-a-[r-s-m : d]-r-x-[t]-a [ : a-d-m : h-d-a : k-a-r]-a Hinz 1972, 246, 251, v-a-[r-s-m : p]-r-š-i-m [ : ] a-[v-d]-a : h-[d-a : k-a-r]-a K<sup>2</sup> (cfr. Kent 1951, 56b, 57b; 1952, 16, 18a), v-a-[+ + + + +]-r-x-[+]-a-[ca. 11]-a C, v-a-[r-s-m : a]-r-x-[š]-a [ : n-a-m : r-u-t : a-v : h-d]-a Harmatta 1976, 22=26, whereas all earlier attempts can be regarded as outdated || vi-i-s-a K<sup>2</sup>, C, p-i-s-a R, KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> (on which basis Oppert had even conjectured ç-i-s-a “thrice”!);  
 25 [ : p-s-a-v ] : a-v-i-y [ : ] here (according to clear traces; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 72f.), [ : p-s-a-v : a-d-m : ] K (following Hinz 1939, 365), whereas for C no traces were visible || s-k-[a : a-d-m] : a-j-n-m here (cfr. Schmitt, l.c.), s-k-[a : v-s-i-y : ] a-j-n-m K (following Hinz 1939, 365, 368; cfr. Hinz 1972, 246), s-k-[i-y-a : a-v]-a-j-n-m KT, s-k-[ : a-v]-a-j-n-m W (but s-k-[a : a-n-i-y-m : a-v]-a-j-n-m in Weissbach 1940, 56), whereas Cameron 1951, 54b saw “no traces; not even of *sa-ka-*, recorded by KT”) || a-n-i-y-m R, KT, W, K, a-[n]-i-y-m C;  
 26 r-b-a-y [ : h-u-v : b]-s-t [ : a-n-y-t-a ] Hinz 1972, 246, 251; Harmatta 1976, 23=27, r-b-a-y-[m : h-u-v : b]-s-t [ : a-n-y-t-a ] K (following Hinz 1939, 365), C (assuming one blank space in the first gap), r-b-[a-y-m : . . . : b]-s-t [ : a-n-y-t-a ] KT, r-b-a-y-[m : a-n-i-y : b]-s-t [ : a-n-y-t-a ] Weissbach 1940, 56, whereas W had r-b-[a-y : u-t-a-š-i-m : b]-s-t-[m : a-n-y : a-b-i-y R, K<sup>2</sup>, : a]-b-i-y KT, W, K<sup>1</sup>, C;  
 27 a-š-[a-m : h-y : ] m-θ<sup>1</sup>-i-š-t [ : a-h : ] here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 73f.), a-š-[i-m : a-v-a-j-n-m : m-θ]-i-š-t-[š-a-m : ] K, a-š-[i-m : a-v-a-j-n-m ] KT, W, a-š-[i-š Weissbach 1940, 56, a-[+ + + + + C, a-[h-y : s-k-i-š-u-v-a : Harmatta 1976, 23=27 || m-θ]-i-š-t-[š-a-m : ] s-[ku]-u-x K<sup>2</sup> (following Hinz 1939, 365, 369, who had the accusative m-θ)-i-š-t-[m-š-a-m, however], -m [ : s-[ku]-u]-x K<sup>1</sup>, Hinz 1972, 246, m-θ)-i-š-t [ : a-h : s-ku]-u]-x Harmatta 1976, 23=27, + + + ]-i-š-t-[š-a-m : s-ku]-u]-x C, ]-š-n-[+ + + + +]-s-[+ + +]-x KT (who supplement [s-ku]-u]-x, however, at p. lxxiii), . . . s-[ku]-u]-x W, ]-u-x R;  
 28 r-b-a-[y : b-s-t]-m [ : ] a-n-y here (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 74), r-b-a-[y : u-t-a : ] a-n-y K<sup>2</sup>, r-b-a-[y : u-t-a : a-n]-y Weissbach 1940, 56, r-b-a-[+ + + + + : ] a-n-y C, r-b-a-[y : u-t-a-š-i-m : ] a-n-y Harmatta 1976, 23=27, r-b-a-[y-m . . . ] KT, r-b-a-[y

- . . . W || [ : a-b-i-y : m-a-m ] : K, C (following Weissbach, l.c.) || : a-v-d-a KT, W, K, : a]-v-d-a R, C;  
 29 i-š-t-[m] : a-ku-u-n-v-m K<sup>2</sup>, C, i-š-[t-m : a-ku]-u-n-v-m KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || y-[θ-a : ] m-a-m : [k]-a-m K<sup>2</sup>, [y-θ-a : ] m- C, y-[θ-a : m-a-m : k]-a-m W, K<sup>1</sup> (after Oppert), whereas KT had only y-[+ + + + + n]-a-m;  
 30 h-y-a-[u-š : m]-n-a [ : a]-b-v K<sup>2</sup>, C, h-[y-a-u-š : m]-n-a [ : a-b]-v KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || [ : θ-a-t-i]-y KT, W, K, C;  
 31 θ-i-[y : a-v-i-y : ] s-[k]-a K, θ-i-[y : + + + C, θ-i-[y : + + +]-s-[+ + +]-a KT, W || a-r-i-[k-a : a]-h [ : ] u-t-a K<sup>2</sup> (first proposed by Hinz 1942, 333), C, + + + ]-m/t-a KT, W, ]-m-a R;  
 32 a-š-a-m : a-y]-d-i-y K<sup>2</sup> (first in Kent 1943, 108, 113b), C, a [ : a-y-d-i]-i-[y] Hinz 1939, 373, whereas KT had read only a few traces || a-u-r-m-[z]-d-[a-m : ] a-y-d-i-y K<sup>2</sup>, C, a]-u-r-[m-z-d-a-m : a]-y-d-i-y W, K<sup>1</sup> (following Tolman 1908, 32), whereas only ]-u-r-[+ + + + + ]-y-d-i-y in KT;  
 33 z-d-a-[h : y]-θ-a : m-a-m : here (according to the photograph), z-d-a-[h : y-θ-a : m]-a-m : K<sup>2</sup>, y-θ-a : m-a-m : C, z-[d-a-h : y-θ-a : m]-a-m : KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || : k-a-m : [a-v-θ-a-d-i]-š K<sup>2</sup>, C, [ : k-a-m : a-v- KT, K<sup>1</sup>, whereas W originally put a-h between the two words (but cfr. Weissbach 1940, 56);  
 34 i-y [ : d-a]-r-y-v-u-š [ : x]-š-a-y-θ-i-y here, -v-[u-š : x]-š-a- K<sup>2</sup>, C, i-[y : . . . x-š]-a-[y-θ-i-y] KT, W, K<sup>1</sup> || [ : h-y ] : W (after Oppert and Foy), K, C, whereas this word is missing in KT;  
 35 i-y [ : a-v-h-y]-a [ : y-a-n]-m here (according to the photograph), i-y [ : a-v-h-y-a : y-a-n]-m K<sup>2</sup> (varying only the word order of the parallel phrase in line 19), i-y [ : . . . ]-m C, i-[y : + + + + + ]-m KT; for other emendations see on line 19 above || [ : a-h-t-i-y : ] u-t-a K<sup>2</sup>, C, . . . ]-t-a KT, . . . a-h-t-i-y : u]-t-a W, K<sup>1</sup> (following Foy), : ] u-t-a R;  
 36 : m-[r-t-h-y]-a here (according to the clear traces of a), -h-y-a ] K, [ : m-r-t-h-y-a ] Hinz 1972, 246, whereas Cameron 1951, 54b, saw only traces of at most eleven signs and KT had : +-[ . . . (this being part of an *m*); for the rest see on line 19 above. – This line, i.e. the end of column V, is on a level with DB IV 32.

# PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION, ENGLISH TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya Pārsai, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām, Vištāspahyā puça, Ršāmahyā napā, Haxāmanišiya./                                                                                      | § 1 | I 1-3   | I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of the countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, an Achaemenid.                                                                                                                                                               |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: manā pitā Vištāspa, Vištāspahyā pitā Ršāma, Ršāmahyā pitā Ariyāramna, Ariyāramnahyā pitā Cišpiš, Cišpaiš pitā Haxāmaniš./                                                                                  | § 2 | I 3-6   | Proclaims Darius, the king: My father (is) Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames; the father of Arsames (was) Ariaramnes; the father of Ariaramnes (was) T(e)ispes; the father of T(e)ispes (was) Achaemenes.                                                                                          |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādī vayam Haxāmanišiyā θanhyāmahi, hacā paruviyata āmātā amahi, hacā paruviyata hayā amāxam taumā xšāyaθiyā āha./                                                                                   | § 3 | I 6-8   | Proclaims Darius, the king: For that reason are we called Achaemenids; from ancient times we are noblemen; from ancient times our family has been kings.                                                                                                                                                         |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aštā manā taumāyā, tayaḥ paruvam xšāyaθiyā āha, adam navama, navā duvitāparanam vayam xšāyaθiyā amahi./                                                                                                    | § 4 | I 8-11  | Proclaims Darius, the king: (There are) eight in my family who formerly have been kings; I (am) the ninth; (thus altogether) nine, now as ever, are we kings.                                                                                                                                                    |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāha adam xšāyaθiya ami, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara./                                                                                                                                      | § 5 | I 11-12 | Proclaims Darius, the king: By the favour of Auramazdā I am king; upon me Auramazdā bestowed the kingship.                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšām xšāyaθiya āham: Pārsa, Ūja, Bābiruš, Aθurā, Arbāya, Mudrāya, tayaḥ drayahyā, Sparda, Yauna, Māda, Armina, Katpatuka, Parθava, Zranka, Haraḥva, | § 6 | I 12-17 | Proclaims Darius, the king: These (are) the countries which fell to my lot; by the favour of Auramazdā I was their king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, (the people) who (dwell) by the sea, Lydia, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, |

- 4 m-n-a p-i-t-a vi-š-t-a-s-p: the verb form omitted in this short sentence (and in the following one) must be in the present, since it is known from DSf 12-15 and XPf 19-25 that both Hystaspes and Arsames were still alive when Darius became king.
- 5f. c-i-š-p-a-i-š: its -a- being purely graphic, this genitive form (diverging from c-i-š-p-i-š DBa 8) has to be given in phonemic transcription as /Cišpaiš/.
- 6f. a-v-h-y-r-a-dī-i-y: for /-rādī/ see, most recently, Thieme 1986, 493f.
- 7 θ-h-y-a-m-h-y: the evidence for the OP passive forms consistently showing full grade in the root syllable has been given by Schmitt 1967, 59-62.
- 9f. VIII and IX: these numerals have to be interpreted as OP \* <a-š-t-a> /aštā/ = YAv. *ašta* = Ved. *aṣṭā* and OP \* <n-v-a> /navā/ = YAv. *naūua* = Ved. *nāva* respectively.
- 10 du-u-vi-i-t-a-p-r-n-m: the reading (/duvitāparanam/) and interpretation ("now as ever") given here are those of Tichy 1983, 229-233.
- 12 m-n-a: the use of this non-enclitic form of the personal pronoun is remarkable; obviously it must be interpreted as a kind of emphatic form and be translated correspondingly.
- 13 p-t-i-y-a-i-š: I regard OP *pati* + *i* + genitive (used as dative) as the counterpart of Ved. *prati* + *i* + dat. "to fall to a person's lot, to come to" (cfr. Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 7,17).
- 15 t-y-i-y d-r-y-h-y-a: the people "who [masc.] (dwell) by the sea" are the inhabitants of what the Greeks called the satrapy of Dascylium (cfr. Schmitt 1972a).



Uvārazmī, Bāxtriš, Suguda, Gandāra, Saka, 𐎠ataguš, Harauvatiš, Maka, fraharavam dahyāva tišrašcā vīθaticā./  
/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imā dahyāva, tayā manā patiyāiša, vašnā Auramazdāha manā bandakā āhantā, manā bājim abarantā, tayašām hacāma aθanhya xšapavā raucapativā, ava akunavayantā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: antar imā dahyāva martiya, haya agriya āha, avam ubṛtam abaram, haya arīka āha, avam ufrastam apṛsam, vašnā Auramazdāha imā dahyāva tayanā manā dātā apariyāya, yaθāšām hacāma aθanhya, avaθā akunavayantā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdāmaṣ imā xšačam frābara, Auramazdāmaṣ upastām abara, yātā ima xšačam hamadārayaṣ, vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšačam dārayāmi./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya manā kṛtam, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam: Kambūjiya nāma, Kurauš puça, amāxam taumāyā, haṣ paruvam idā xšāyaθiya āha, avahyā Kambūjiyahyā brātā Bṛdiya nāma āha, hamātā hamapitā Kambūjiyahyā, pasāva Kambūjiya avam Bṛdiyam avāja, yaθā Kambūjiya Bṛdiyam avāja, kārahyā naṣ azdā abava, taya Bṛdiya avajata,

Gandāra, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, (and) Maka, all round twenty-three countries.

§ 7 I 17–20 Proclaims Darius, the king: These (are) the countries which fell to my lot; by the favour of Auramazdā they were my vassals; to me they brought tribute. What has been said to them by me, either by night or by daylight, that they used to bring about.

§ 8 I 20–24 Proclaims Darius, the king: In these countries, the man who was loyal, him I treated well, who was disloyal, him I punished severely. By the favour of Auramazdā these countries obeyed my law; as has been said to them by me, thus they used to act.

§ 9 I 24–26 Proclaims Darius, the king: Auramazdā bestowed this kingdom upon me; Auramazdā brought me aid, until I had held together this kingdom. By the favour of Auramazdā I hold this kingdom.

§ 10 I 26–35 Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what has been done by me, after that I became king. Cambyses by name, the son of Cyrus, of our family, he formerly has been king here. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis by name, of the same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew that Smerdis; (but) when Cambyses had slain Smerdis, it did not become known to the people that Smerdis had been slain.

17 f-r-h-r-v-m: the interpretation of this form as “altogether, in all” (which would agree with the Elamite and Babylonian versions) and the previous etymological connexion with OP h-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v- “all” seem to be excluded from the linguistic point of view; following Gschnitzer 1988, 97<sup>11</sup>, the translation given here tries to combine the evidence of both etymology (/fraharavam/ belonging to Ved. *prasalavi* “clockwise” as shown by Hoffmann 1976, 407<sup>5</sup>) and the other versions with their quite natural statement.

17 XXIII: corresponding to the attested form YAv. *pañcāca vīsaitica* “25” one may expect for the feminine of “23” Av. \**tišrasca vīsaitica*, the equivalent of which would be OP /tišrašcā vīθaticā/.

19 b-d-k-a: OP /bandaka-/ does not mean, as it has commonly been interpreted in the past, “subject, servant”, but rather “vassal, (feudal) tenant”.

20 x-š-p-v-a r-u-c-p-t-i-v-a: to this phrase may be compared the words with which Megabazus warned King Darius against Histiaeus (Herodotus 5,23,2), where he speaks of a leader whose people will perform his commands by day and night (καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός).

20 a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-y-t-a: OP /akunavayantā/ has to be interpreted with P. Tedesco *apud* Cowgill 1968a, 29<sup>16</sup>, as an augmented optative form like /avājaniyā/ in lines 51 and 52 below (q.v. for the iterative function of such forms).

21 a-g-r-i-y: as to the reading and interpretation of a-g-r-i-y, which is probably /agriya-/ , cfr. most recently Mayrhofer 1985, 30f.

22 a-r-i-k: in all probability a-r-i-k is to be read /arīka-/ and identified with Ved. *ālīka*- “unfaithful, disloyal”.

26 h-m-d-a-r-y-i-y: for the interpretation of this verbal form (“hold together”, not merely “hold”) cfr. Schmitt 1972b, 139–142.

28 k-b-u-j-i-i-y: the phonemic realization of this name (with -bu-, -bū-, or even -bau-?) is not clear, since the foreign renderings are not unambiguous and the etymology is somewhat disputed (cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/23, but now also Mayrhofer 1989, 183).

29 h-u-v p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m: novel textual restoration proposed by Schmitt 1990, 16f.

30 h-m-a-t-a h-m-p-i-t-a: as is well known, the same detail can be read in Herodotus (3,30,1) too: Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατρός καὶ μητρός τῆς αὐτῆς.

pasāva Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, yaθā Kambūjiya Mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kārā arīka abava utā drauga dahyaūvā vasai abava, utā Pārsai utā Mādaī utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva aiya martiya maguš āha, Gaumāta nāma, haū udapatatā hacā Pašiyāuvādā, Arakadriš nāma kauḥa, hacā avadaš, Viyaxnahya māhyā caçudaθā raucabiš θakata āha, yadi udapatatā, haū kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, Kambūjiyahyā brātā, pasāva kārā haruva hamiçiya abava hacā Kambūjiyā, abi avam ašiyava, utā Pārša utā Māda utā aniyā dahyāva, xšaçam haū agṛbāyatā, Garmapadahya māhyā navā raucabiš θakata āha, avaθā xšaçam agṛbāyatā, pasāva Kambūjiya uvamṛšiyuš amariyatā./

§ 11 I 35–43

Afterwards Cambyses went off to Egypt; when Cambyses had set out for Egypt, after that the people became disloyal and Falsehood grew greatly in the land, in Persia as well as in Media and the other countries.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards there was one single man, a magus, Gaumāta by name; he rose up from Paishiyāuvādā – (there is) a mountain; Arakadri by name – from there; in the month Viyakhna fourteen days had passed, when he rose up. He lied to the people thus: “I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses”. Afterwards all the people became rebellious from Cambyses (and) went (over) to him, Persia as well as Media and the other countries, (and) he seized the kingship. In the month Garmapada nine days had passed, then he seized the kingship. Afterwards Cambyses died his own (natural) death.

- 34 d-h-y-u-v-a: from this passage and several others it becomes clear that OP /dahyu-/ is not only used for the twenty-three (cfr. § 6 above) “countries” of the Achaemenid Empire – Persia, Media, etc. – (for what the Greeks called “satrapies”), but likewise for a larger unit (seemingly the totality of these “countries”, whence I translate here “land”) and for smaller ones, i.e. for parts of these countries, viz. “districts” like Nisāya in Media (cfr. lines 58f. below).
- 36 I m-r-t-i-y: since an “indefinite article” is entirely lacking in Old Persian, the numeral “one” (which only in DB is written with this sign) must be taken seriously in this phrase too: “one single man”.
- 36 g-u-m-a-t n-a m: the Babylonian version alone adds that Gaumāta was a Mede (Bab. *ma-da-a-a*); cfr. Schmitt 1980a, 110b.
- 36f. p-i-š-i-y-a-u-v-a-d-a-y-a: the exact understanding of this geographical designation (in the ablative form) and its location (as well as its etymology) are still disputed.
- 37 a-r-k-d-r-i-š: cfr. most recently W. Eilers, EIr II 248f. s.v. Arakadri-.
- 37 vi-i-y-x-n-h-y: the name (in the genitive form) of the twelfth month of the Old Persian calendar (corresponding to Bab. Addāru) is not clear; the date given is 11 March 522 B.C.
- 37f. m-a-h-y-a: this form must be the locative of a stem /māh-/, not a genitive of an alleged stem /māhī-/; cfr. Schmitt 1974, 112.
- 38 XIV: as the equivalent of YAv. \**caθrudasa* (even if only the ordinal *caθrudasa* “fourteenth” is actually attested) an OP \*/caçudaθā/ may be assumed.
- 41f. x-š-ç-m h-u-v a-g-r-b-a-y-t-a: the unusual word-order with the object preceding the subject for emphasis cannot be imitated in the translation.
- 42 g-r-m-p-d-h-y: /Garmapada-/ is the name of the fourth month (corresponding to Bab. Du’ūzu); the date given is 1 July 522 B.C.
- 43 u-v-a-m-r-š-i-y-u-š a-m-r-i-y-t-a: the phrase /uvamṛšiyuš amariyatā/ (the writing u-v-a° for /uva°/ being purely graphic: cfr. Darms 1978, 513<sup>5f.</sup>) “he died his own death”, literally “having his own death he died”, means neither “to die by suicide” nor “to die through one’s own fault” but simply “to die a natural death”; such an interpretation is in full agreement with a great many similar expressions in languages of different families and various periods; for the rich evidence from New Persian literary sources cfr. Lazard 1976, 175–178, and for this much debated question as a whole cfr. most recently Walser 1983; Shahbazi 1986, 164f.; Balcer 1987, 95–100.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aīta xšačam, taya Gaumāta haya maguš adinā Kambūjiyam, aīta xšačam hacā paruviyata amāxam taumāyā āha, pasāva Gaumāta haya maguš adinā Kambūjiyam utā Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva, hau āyasatā, uvāipašiyam akutā, hau xšāyaθiya abava./

§ 12 I 43-48

Proclaims Darius, the king: That kingship, of which Gaumāta the magus despoiled Cambyses, that kingship from ancient times had belonged to our family. Afterwards Gaumāta the magus despoiled Cambyses of Persia as well as of Media and the other countries; he took (them) to himself (and) made (them) his own (property); he became king.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: nai āha martiya nai Pārsa nai Māda nai amāxam taumāyā kašci, haya avam Gaumātam tayam magum xšačam dītam caxriyā, kārašim hacā dīšam atīsa, kāram vasaī avājaniyā, haya paranam Bṛdiyam adānā, avahyarādī kāram avājaniyā, mātayamām xšnāsāti, taya adam nai Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, kašci nai adīšnauš cišci θanstanai pari Gaumātam tayam magum, yātā adam ārsam, pasāva adam Auramazdām patiyāvanhyaī, Auramazdām upastām abara, Bāgayādaiš māhyā daθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā adam hadā

§ 13 I 48-61

Proclaims Darius, the king: There was no man, neither a Persian nor a Mede nor anyone of our family, who might have been able to despoil that Gaumāta the magus of the kingship. The people feared him very much, (since) he used to slay in great number the people who previously had known Smerdis; for that reason he used to slay the people: "That they may not know me, that I am not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus". No one dared say anything about Gaumāta the magus, until I came. Afterwards I was to pray to Auramazdā; Auramazdā brought me aid; in the month Bāgayādi ten days had passed, then I with

- 47 u-v-a-i-p-š-i-y-m: though not all morphological and syntactic problems concerning this form (which may be an adjective ["own"] or a noun ["own property"]) are settled, its content and translation are reasonably certain.
- 51 a-v-a-j-n-i-y-a: in /avājaniyā/ neither a form with double prefix *ava* + *ā* (which is otherwise unknown within Indo-Iranian) nor a graphic peculiarity (whether misspelling or plene-writing) is to be seen, but simply an optative form (of *ava* + *jan*) with augment, as also occurs in some YAv. forms; the function of these morphological monsters was to indicate the iteration of an action in the past; see Hoffmann 1976, 617-619.
- 52 m-a-t-y-m-a-m: in /mā-taya-mām/ the use of the non-enclitic pronominal form /mām/ in enclitic position seems to me so awkward that I would seriously assume that the word-divider in an original <m-a-t-y : m-a-m> /mātaya mām/ has been omitted.
- 54 a-r-s-m: to be read /ārsam/ (rather than /arasam/), 1st sing. impf. act. to the present stem /ṛsa-/ = Ved. *ṛcchā*- (cfr. Schmitt 1965, 275-279).
- 55 p-t-i-y-a-v-h-y-i-y: mainly because of the Elamite rendering *bat-ti-ya-man-ya-a* I retain the old interpretation of Wackernagel 1956, 444-447, as /patiyāvanhyaī/ (to *pati* + *ā* + *van* "to pray") and its understanding as a historical future (cfr. Schmitt 1967a, 54f.; 1970a, 18f.).
- 55 b-a-g-y-a-d-i-š: genitive of /Bāgayādi-/ , the name of the seventh month, which corresponds to Bab. *Tašrītu* (cfr. most recently R. Schmitt, EIr III 408a s.v. *Bāgayādiš*); the date given is 29 September 522 B.C.
- 56 X: the OP form of this numeral must be \*/daθā/ = OAv. *dasā*, YAv. *dasa* = Ved. *dāśa*; cfr. such renderings as Elam. *da-sa-bat-ti-iš* = OP \*/daθapati-/ "decurion" or Elam. *da-sa-maš* = OP \*/daθauva-/ "tenth part".

kamnaibiš martiyaibiš avam Gaumātam tayam magum  
avājanam utā tayaššai fratamā martiyā anušiya āhantā,  
Sikayuvatiš nāmā didā, Nisāya nāmā dahyāuš Mādai, avadašim  
avājanam, xšačamšim adam adinām, vašnā Auramazdāha adam  
xšāyaθiya abavam, Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: xšačam, taya hacā amāxam taumāyā  
parābṛtam āha, ava adam patipadam akunavam, adamšim  
gāθavā avāstāyam, yaθā paruvamci, avaθā adam akunavam  
āyadanā, tayā Gaumāta haya maguš viyaka, adam niyačārayam  
kārahyā ābicariš gaiθāmcā māniyamcā viθbišcā, tayādiš  
Gaumāta haya maguš adinā, adam karam gāθavā avāstāyam Pār-  
samcā Mādamcā utā aniyā dahyāva, yaθā paruvamci, avaθā  
adam, taya parābṛtam, patiyābaram, vašnā Auramazdāha ima  
adam akunavam, adam hamataxšai, yātā viθam tayām amāxam  
gāθavā avāstāyam, yaθā paruvamci, avaθā adam hamataxšai  
vašnā Auramazdāha, yaθā Gaumāta haya maguš viθam tayām  
amāxam nai parābara./

§ 14 I 61-71

a few men slew that Gaumāta the magus and the men who were  
his foremost followers. (There are) a fortress Sikayuvati by  
name (and) a district Nisāya by name, in Media – there I slew  
him. I despoiled him of the kingship; by the favour of Aura-  
mazdā I became king; upon me Auramazdā bestowed the king-  
ship.

Proclaims Darius, the king: The kingship, which had been  
taken away from our family, that I reinstated; I put it in its  
proper place. Just as (they were) previously, so I made the places  
of worship, which Gaumāta the magus had destroyed; I  
restored to the people the farmsteads, the livestock, the menials  
and (together with) the houses, of which Gaumāta the magus  
had despoiled them. I put the people in its proper place, Persia  
as well as Media and the other countries. Just as (it was) pre-  
viously, so I restored what had been taken away. By the favour  
of Auramazdā this I did. I strove, until I had put our (royal)  
house in its proper place, just as (it was) previously. So I strove  
by the favour of Auramazdā that Gaumāta the magus did not  
take away our (royal) house.

- 57f. u-t-a t-y-i-y-š-i-y f-r-t-m-a m-r-t-i-y-a a-n<sup>u</sup>-u-š-i-y-a a-h-t-a: this isolated passage (where /anušiya-/ seems to be used as an adjective) is at variance with six other occurrences (DB II 77, III 48f., 50f., 74f., 90, 91f.) where m-r-t-i-y-a follows immediately after u-t-a and thus stands outside the relative clause; Benveniste 1945, 61<sup>1</sup>, explained this odd word-order as the outcome of an engraver's mistake which had only been noticed too late (cfr. also Kent 1953, 86a<sup>1</sup>), an interpretation which may be supported by reference to the corresponding passages of the Elamite version (which do not show any relevant variation when translating the phrase in question).
- 58 s-i-k- <y> -u-v-t-i-š: to be read /Sikayuvatiš/ and not /Sikayaṽvatiš/, as is shown by Elam. *Ši-ik-ki-ú-ma-ti-iš* (cfr. Schmitt 1974, 112f.; 1980a, 120f.; 1990, 18-20); the fortress bearing this name may have been situated not far from Mt. Bisitun.
- 62 p-t-i-p-d-m: the exact interpretation of this adjectival or adverbial form is not entirely clear, nor is the difference in meaning between this and the following short sentence; cfr. Wüst 1966; 199f.
- 63ff. y-θ-a . . . a-d<sup>i</sup>-i-n-a: for the syntax and interpretation of this whole passage see Schmitt 1972b, 146-50 and 154.
- 63f. a-y-d-n-a: it cannot be ascertained, what kind of "temples" (if any) are meant and where these "places of worship" have to be sought; cfr. most recently J. Duchesne-Guillemin, EIr III 126b s.v. āyadana.
- 64 k-a-r-h-y-a: the interpretation of this genitival form as a true genitive ("the farmsteads . . . of the people") as proposed by Hale 1988, 32, is far from compelling.
- 64f. a-b-i-c-r-i-š: reading and interpretation (acc. plur. /ābicariš/ "farmsteads") are given here according to Schmitt 1967a, 56-58; the most recent proposal by Abaev 1985 is at variance with the Elamite version at least as to the syntax.
- 65 g-i-θ-a-m-c-a m-a-n-i-y-m-c-a: cfr., i.a., Klīma 1967; Dandamaev 1976, 187-195; Gershevitch 1979, 131. – For the problem of the triple /-cā/ and its combination with the instrumental vi-θ-b-i-š- see Klein 1988, 403.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |      |         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam./                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | § 15 | I 71–72 | Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what I have done, after that I became king.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yaθā adam Gaumātām tayam magum avājanam, pasāva aīva martiya Ācina nāma, Upad(a)ramahyā puça, haṇ udapatatā Ūjai, kārahyā avaθā aθanha: adam Ūjai xšāyaθiya ami, pasāva Ūjiyā hamiçiyā abava, abi avam Ācinam ašiyava, haṇ xšāyaθiya abava Ūjai, utā aīva martiya Bābiruviya Nadintabajra nāma, Ainaīrahyā puça, haṇ udapatatā Bābirau, kāram avaθā adurujiya: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaītahyā puça, pasāva kāra haya Bābiruviya haruva abi avam Nadintabajram ašiyava, Bābiruš hamiçiya abava, xšaçam taya Bābirau haṇ agrbāyatā./ | § 16 | I 72–81 | Proclaims Darius, the king: When I had slain Gaumāta the magus, afterwards (there was) one single man, Ācina by name, the son of Upad(a)rama; he rose up in Elam. To the people thus he said: “I am king in Elam”. Afterwards the Elamites became rebellious (and) went (over) to that Ācina; he became king in Elam. And (there was) one single man, a Babylonian, Nidintu-Bēl by name, the son of Ainaira; he rose up in Babylonia. To the people thus he lied: “I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na’id”. Afterwards the Babylonian people, all (of them), went (over) to that Nidintu-Bēl; Babylonia became rebellious, (and) he seized the kingship in Babylonia. |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam frājšayam Ūjam, haṇ Ācina basta anayatā abi mām, adamšim avājanam./                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | § 17 | I 81–83 | Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I sent to Elam. That Ācina in fetters was led to me; I slew him.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam Bābirum ašiyavam abi avam Nadintabajram, haya Nabukudracara agaubatā, kāra haya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | § 18 | I 83–90 | Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I went to Babylonia against that Nidintu-Bēl who called himself Nebuchadnezzar. The army of Nidintu-Bēl held (the bank of) the Tigris; there                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

- 72 i-m . . . a-b-v-m: by this sentence, which takes up again lines 27f., the first main part of the entire inscription is rounded off in the manner of the so-called “ring-composition” (thus Schmitt 1972b, 141); likewise the slightly divergent Babylonian version is a kind of summary and not an introductory formula (Borger 1982, 11).
- 74 a-ç-i-n: for this name, which is certainly of Iranian origin (though this same man is called an Elamite in DB IV 10 and in the other versions), cfr. esp. Mayrhofer 1979, II/11 (with the critical annotations of H. Humbach, *Kratylos* 26, 1981 [1982], 89), and Schmitt 1980a, 121f.
- 74 u-p-d-r-m-h-y-a: the reading of this name (and consequently also the etymological interpretation) is not clear: cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/26f., and Schmitt 1980a, 122.
- 75 u-v-j-i-y: the position of /Ūjai/ in second place in the sentence is noteworthy.
- 77 n-di-i-t-b-i-r: the reading of the OP form of this Babylonian name is not certain; one may think either of something like /Nadintabajra/ (if Bab. *Ni-din-tu*-dEN is taken as basis) or of something like /Nadit(a)bīra/ (this matching Elam. *Nu-ti-ut-be-ul*). For the variant n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r /Nidintabajra/ see the annotations to DB IV 12 and DBd 1.
- 77 a-i-n-[i-r]-h-y-a: this form is only restored after Elam. *Ha-a-na-a-ra* (cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/11) and far from certain, the more so as the Babylonian version (as read by von Voigtlander 1978, 20) seems to have something else.
- 78 k-a-r-m: contrary to line 38f. the verb /duruj-/ is construed here as transitive; for the details see Schmitt 1986a, 128<sup>44</sup>.
- 78f. n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-d-r-c-r: here as well as in lines 84 and 93 a shorter spelling is attested, though in the other six places the fuller form -k<sup>u</sup>-u-d- is found (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 28).
- 82 f-r-a-i-š-y-m: the verb OP /fra-iš-/ is here construed without direct object, thus “to send to, i.e. to send a messenger/message to”; such an interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the Elamite version adds the word *hu-ut-lak* “messenger”; see Schmitt 1978, 66f.

Nadintabajrahyā Tigrām adāraya, avadā aištātā, utā abiš nāviyā āha, pasāva adam kāram maškāuvā avākanam, aniyam ušabārim akunavam, aniyahyā asam frānayam, Auramazdāmaṣ upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha Tigrām viyatarayāmā, avadā avam kāram tayam Nadintabajrahyā adam ajanam vasai, Āçiyādiya-hya māhyā xšuvašcā vīθaticā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā hamaranam akumā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam Bābirum ašiyavam, aθai Bābirum yaθā nai upāyam, Zāzāna nāma vṛdanam anu Ufrātuva, avadā haṣ Nadintabaira, haya Nabukudracara agaṣbatā, āiš hadā kārā patiš mām hamaranam cartanai, pasāva hamaranam akumā, Auramazdāmaṣ upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāram tayam Nadintabajrahyā adam ajanam vasai, aniya apiyā āhyatā, apišim parābara, Anāmakahya māhyā duvai raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā hamaranam akumā./

it took its stand, and because of the waters (the river) was passable (only) by boat. Afterwards I embarked (one part of) the army upon rafts of skin, another (part) I made camel-borne, and for another (part) I brought up horses. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā we crossed the Tigris. There I defeated that army of Nidintu-Bēl utterly; in the month Āçiyādiya twenty-six days had passed, then we fought the battle.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I went to Babylon. (But) then, when I had not yet reached Babylon – (there is) a place, Zāzāna by name, on the Euphrates – there that Nidintu-Bēl who called himself Nebuchadnezzar came with an army against me to fight a battle. Afterwards we fought the battle; Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā I defeated the army of Nidintu-Bēl utterly; another (part) was thrown into the water, (and) in the water it carried it away; in the month Anāmaka two days had passed, then we fought the battle.

- 86 a-b-i-š n-a-vi-i-y-a a-h: the most comprehensive study of this passage is by Utas 1966, 118–129; cfr. also Kellens 1974, 83<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, Kent 1943, 67, rightly recalled that in Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2,2,3 the Tigris is characterized as “a navigable (Gk. ναυσιππος) river, which we (i.e., the Greek soldiers) would not be able to cross without boats”. And exactly that shade, viz. “not to be crossed without the help of a boat” (i.e. “not fordable”) is the attested meaning of both Av. *nāuuia-* (Vulgate *nāuuāia-*) and Ved. *nāvya-*; cfr. Hoffmann-Narten 1989, 47<sup>41</sup>; Klaus 1989, 17, 32<sup>61</sup>.
- 86 m-š-k-a-u-v-a: as to the crossing of a river by rafts of skin in ancient times I may refer to Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1,5,10 (on the crossing of the Euphrates by means of διφθέραι “hides”) and 3,5,9–12 (about a plan for crossing the Tigris with two thousand ἄσχοι “skins”).
- 89 a-ç-i-y-a-di-i-y-h-y: the name (in the genitive) of the ninth month, /Āçiyādiya-/ corresponds to Bab. Kislīmu (cfr. R. Schmitt, EIr I 430a s.v. Āçiyādiya); the date given is 13 December 522 B.C.
- 89 XXVI: in view of YAv. *pañcāca vīsaitica* “25” (cfr. above on line 17) and YAv. *xšuuas* “6” one may assume OP /xšuvašcā vīθaticā/ for “26”.
- 91 b-a-b-i-r-u-m: contrary to the use of the same form in lines 83f. this geographical designation stands here for the town of Babylon and not for the whole country.
- 91 a-θ-i-y: cfr. most recently the considered discussion by Klein 1988, 410ab.
- 92 z-a-z-a-n: the exact location of this place is not known.
- 95f. a-p-i-y-a . . . a-p-i-š-i-m: I adhere to the interpretation that both /apiy-ā/ (with /-ā/ postpositive to the locative) and /api-šim/ (with the enclitic pronoun /-šim/) are locatives in form and that the short sentence /api-šim parābara/ is construed impersonally, without any formal subject (“it”).
- 96 a-n-a-m-k-h-y: genitive of /Anāmaka-/ the name of the tenth month, which is equivalent to Bab. Tēbētu, but has not been interpreted with certainty (cfr. R. Schmitt, EIr II 1a s.v. Anāmaka); the date given is 18 December 522 B.C.
- 96 II: the reading /duvai/ for this numeral seems to be beyond any doubt in view of YAv. *duua* = Ved. *dvā*, neuter YAv. *duuaē(-ca)* = Ved. *dvē*.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva Nadintabairā hadā kamnāi-biš asabāraiḫbiš amuθa, Bābirum ašiyava, pasāva adam Bābirum ašiyavam, vašnā Auramazdāha utā Bābirum agrbāyam utā avam Nadintabairam agrbāyam, pasāva avam Nadintabairam adam Bābiraḫ avājanam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yātā adam Bābiraḫ āham, imā dahyāva, tayā hacāma hamičiyā abava: Pārsa, Ūja, Māda, Aθurā, Mudrāya, Parθava, Marguš, Ōataguš, Saka./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aiva martiya Martiya nāma, Cincakraiḫ puça, Kuganakā nāma vṛdanam Pārsai, avadā adāraya, haḫ udapatatā Ūjai, kārahyā avaθā aθanha: adam Imaniš ami, Ūjai xšāyaθiya./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: adakaj adam ašnai āham abi Ūjam, pasāva hacāma atṛsa Ūjiyā, avam Martiyam agrbāya, hayašām maθišta āha, utāšim avājana./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aiva martiya Fravartiš nāma Māda, haḫ udapatatā Mādaj, kārahyā avaθā aθanha: adam Xšaθrita ami, Uvaxštrahyā taumāyā, pasāva kāra Māda, haya viθāpati, haḫ hacāma hamičiya abava, abi avam Fravartim ašiyava, haḫ xšāyaθiya abava Mādaj./

§ 20 II 1–5

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards Nidintu-Bēl with a few horsemen fled (and) went to Babylon. After that I went to Babylon. By the favour of Auramazdā I both seized Babylon and captured that Nidintu-Bēl. Afterwards I slew that Nidintu-Bēl in Babylon.

§ 21 II 5–8

Proclaims Darius, the king: Whilst I was in Babylon, these (are) the countries which became rebellious from me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, (and) Scythia.

§ 22 II 8–11

Proclaims Darius, the king: (There was) one single man, Martiya by name, the son of Cincakhri, (and) (there is) a place, Kuganakā by name, in Persia – there he resided. He rose up in Elam; to the people thus he said: “I am Imani, king in Elam”.

§ 23 II 11–13

Proclaims Darius, the king: At that time I was near to Elam; afterwards (it was) me (that) the Elamites feared; they captured that Martiya who was their chief and slew him.

§ 24 II 13–17

Proclaims Darius, the king: (There was) one single man, Phraortes by name, a Mede, he rose up in Media. To the people thus he said: “I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares”. After that the Median army that (was) in the palace, that became rebellious from me (and) went (over) to that Phraortes; he became king in Media.

7 m<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-a-y: although in fact Darius does not report any Egyptian revolt, this form has been restored (at least since Spiegel) in accordance with the Elamite version; Armenia, however, which actually had been rebellious (see §§ 26–30, below) and of which Rawlinson 1847, xlvii, had thought first, is not mentioned at all here.

8 m-r-t-i-y: for this rebel see most recently R. Schmitt, RIA VII 433a s.v. Martija; as to the formal analysis of the name it seems preferable, however, to think of a hypocoristic \**Mart-īya*-, based on some compound with \**marta*- = OAv. *marəta*- “mortal”.

9 c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š: even if the formal problems posed by this name (here in the genitive form) are solved now (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 21f.), its etymological interpretation remains difficult.

9 ku-u-g-n-k-a: the exact location of this place is not known, though it is often mentioned in the Persepolis tablets and seems to have been of some importance.

15 x-š-θ-r-i-t: for this name see Mayrhofer 1979, II/30, and Schmitt 1980b, 10; a recent discussion of the historical problems surrounding the Median “Kashtaritu” (\**Xšaθrita*-) and Herodotus’ Φραόρτης is found in Helm 1981.

15f. u-v-x-š-t-r-h-y-a: the reading and interpretation of this name (here in the genitive form) are not yet assured: cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/27.

16 vi-θ-a-p-t-i-y: for the Median (here) or Persian (DB III 26) /kāra . . . haya viθāpati/ “army in the palace” one may compare the “Household troops” (οἱ τε περὶ τὰ βασιλεία διατρίβοντες) mentioned by Diodorus 17,59,4 (as fighting on the left wing of the great king’s army at Arbela in 331 B.C.).

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: kāra Pārsa utā Māda, haya upā mām āha, haṣ kamnam āha, pasāva adam kāram frāišayam, Vidṛna nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, avamšām maθištām akunavam, avaθāšām aθanham: paraitā, avam kāram tayam Mādam jatā, haya manā nai gaṣbatai, pasāva haṣ Vidṛna hadā kārā ašiyava, yaθā Mādam parārsa, Māruš nāma vṛdanam Mādai, avadā hamaranam akunaṣ hadā Mādaiḃiš, haya Mādai-šuvā maθišta āha, haṣ adakai nai avadā āha, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamiciyam aja vasai, Anāmakahya māhyā haftacā vīθaticā raṣcabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam, pasāva haṣ kāra haya manā, Kampanda nāmā dahyāṣ Mādai, avadā mām amānaya, yātā adam ārsam Mādam./

§ 25

II 17–29

Proclaims Darius, the king: The Persian and Median army, which was under (the control of) me, that was a small thing. After that I sent forth an army. (There was) a Persian, Hydarnes by name, my vassal – him I made their chief. Thus I said to them: “Go forth, defeat that Median army which does not call itself mine!”. Afterwards that Hydarnes with the army marched off. When he had come to Media, (there is) a place, Māru by name, in Media – there he fought a battle with the Medes. He who was chief among the Medes, he at that time was not there. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Anāmaka twenty-seven days had passed, then the battle was fought by them. Afterwards that army of mine – (there is) a district, Kampanda by name, in Media – there it waited for me, until I came to Media.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Dādṛšiš nāma Arminiya, manā bandaka, avam adam frāišayam Arminam, avaθāšai aθanham: paraiḃi, kāra haya hamiciya manā nai gaṣbatai, avam jadi, pasāva Dādṛšiš ašiyava, yaθā Arminam parārsa, pasāva hamiciyā

§ 26

II 29–37

Proclaims Darius, the king: (There is) an Armenian, Dādarshi by name, my vassal – him I sent to Armenia. Thus I said to him: “Go forth, (there is) an army which (is) rebellious (and) does not call itself mine – defeat that!”. Afterwards Dādarshi marched off. When he had come to Armenia, after that the

- 19 k-m-n-m: the translation tries to render the neuter form of the predicative adjective, since, after all, this construction is obviously inherited from Proto-Indo-European.
- 19 vi-i-d-r-n: the etymological interpretation of OP /Vidṛna-/, which may be analysed in various ways (/vi-d<sup>o</sup>/, /vid-ṛ<sup>o</sup>/, etc.), is far from clear: cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/29.
- 22 m-a-r<sup>u</sup>-u-š: the name of this place, which is not known from other sources, is merely restored on the basis of Elam. *Ma-ru-iš* and Bab. *Ma-ru*’.
- 26 XXVII: in view of YAv. *pañcāca vīsaitica* “25” (cfr. above on DB I 17) and MP, NP *haft* “7” (as against YAv. *hapta* with its striking *p*) one may postulate OP /haftacā vīθaticā/ for “27”. The date given is 12 January 521 B.C.
- 27 k-p-d: the reading /Kampanda/ is based on the Elamite rendering *Ka-um-pan-taš* (contrasting with Bab. URUKa-am-pa-da-’, which in its turn would go with Gk. Καμβαδηνή); the exact location of this district is not entirely clear, but like Nisāya (mentioned in DB I 58) it must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Mt. Bisitun; cfr. most recently Calmeyer 1989, 609–611; A. Sh. Shahbazi, EIr IV 724ab s.v. Cambadene (with a wrong OP form, however).
- 29 d-a-d-r-š-i-š: the reading /Dādṛšiš/ is proved by the Elamite rendering *Da-tur-ši-iš* and the etymological equivalent Ved. *dādṛṣi*- “bold, audacious”; it may be noted that it is here for the first time that an Armenian person bears an Iranian name: cfr. Schmitt 1980b, 11.



hangmatā paraītā patiš Dādṛšim hamaranam cartanai, Zūzahya nāma āvahanam Arminaijai, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamīçiyam aja vasai, Ōuravāharahya māhyā aštā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pati duvitīyam hamīçiyā hangmatā paraītā patiš Dādṛšim hamaranam cartanai, Tigra nāmā didā Arminaijai, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamīçiyam aja vasai, Ōuravāharahya māhyā aštādaθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pati çitīyam hamīçiyā hangmatā paraītā patiš Dādṛšim hamaranam cartanai, Uyavā nāmā didā Arminaijai, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam

rebels assembled (and) went forth against Dādarshi to fight a battle. (There is) a village, Zūzahya by name, in Armenia – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Thūravāhara eight days had passed, then the battle was fought by them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: For the second time the rebels assembled (and) went forth against Dādarshi to fight a battle. (There is) a fortress, Tigra by name, in Armenia – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Thūravāhara eighteen days had passed, then the battle was fought by them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: For the third time the rebels assembled (and) went forth against Dādarshi to fight a battle. (There is) a fortress, Uyavā by name, in Armenia – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in

- 33 z-u-z-h-y: this form, which is normally read as /Zūzahya/, does not fully agree with Elam. *Su-iz-za* and Bab. *Zu-ú-zu*; neither the location of the village nor the etymology of its name are clear.
- 33f. a-r-mi-n-i-y-i-y: noteworthy are both -mi-n- instead of -mi-i-n-, i.e. a “defective” writing (this being confined to the present passage from lines 33 to 48; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 25f.), and the locative form /Arminaijai/, which avoids the regular \*a-r-mi-(i)-n-i-y because of its graphical ambiguity (cfr. Schmitt 1980b, 7, etc.) by doubling the locative ending /-ai/ (cfr. Mayrhofer 1980, 135<sup>25</sup>).
- 36 θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y: the name (in the genitive form) of the second month, /Ōuravāhara/, which is not clarified in all details, corresponds to Bab. *Ajjāru*; the date given is 20 May 521 B.C.
- 37f. d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m: the evidence of the other ancient Aryan languages being contradictory (OAv. *daibitiia-*, YAv. *bitiia-*, Ved. *dvitīya-* “second”), the exact reading of OP /duvitīya-/ is uncertain.
- 39 t-i-g-r: the name of this fortress, to be read /Tigra/ because of Elam. *Ti-ig-ra*, Bab. *Di-ig-ra*, and Aram. *igr*, seems to be genuinely Iranian and is probably connected with the adjective OP *tigra-* “pointed”; the fortress itself cannot be localized (cfr. Schmitt 1980b, 11f.).
- 41 XVIII: the equivalent of YAv. \**aštadasa* (even if only the ordinal *aštadasa-* “eighteenth” is actually attested) may have been OP \*/aštādaθā/; the date given is 30 May 521 B.C.
- 43 ç-i-t-i-y-m: the reading of OP /çitīya-/ is as unclear as that of d<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m (cfr. on line 37f. above) because of YAv. *oritiia-*, Ved. *trītiya-* “third”.
- 44 u-y-「v」-a: in accordance with Aram. *hyw* (notwithstanding the ambiguous renderings Elam. *Ū-i-ya-ma* and Bab. *Ū-ia-a-ma-*) and despite Cameron’s “clearly visible” *u-y-m-a* the name of this Armenian fortress (otherwise entirely unknown) may be read with -v- (see Schmitt 1990, 28–30).

hamiṇyam aja vasai, Ōāigracaiṣ māhyā navā raucabiṣ ṭakatā āha,  
avaṭāśām hamaranam kṛtam, pasāva Dādṛṣiṣ citā mām amānaya  
Arminaijai, yātā adam ārsam Mādam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Vaumisa nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, avam adam fraīšayam Arminam, avaθāšaj aθanham: paraīdi, kāra haya hamiçiya manā naj gaubataj, avam jadi, pasāva Vaumisa ašiyava, yaθā Arminam parārsa, pasāva hamiçiyā hangmatā paraītā patiš Vaumisam hamaranam cartanaī, Izalā nāmā dahyāuš Aθurāyā, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmaj upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamiçiyam aja vasaj, Anāmakahya māhyā pancadaθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam krtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xsāyaθiya : pati duvitīyam hamiçiṃyā hangmatā  
 paraṭṭa patiš Vaumisam hamaranam cartanaṃ, Aṭtiyāra nāmā  
 dahyāuš Arminaijai, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmai  
 upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam  
 kāram tayam hamiçiṃyam aja vasai, Ōurvāharahya māhyā  
 jiyamnam pati, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam, pasāva Vaumisa  
 ciṭā mām amānava Arminaijai, yātā adam ārsam Mādam./

§ 29 II 49–57

§ 30      II 57-63

the month Thāigraci nine days had passed, then the battle was fought by them. After that Dādarshi waited for me for a while in Armenia, until I came to Media.

Proclaims Darius, the king: '(There is) a Persian, Omises by name, my vassal – him I sent to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go forth, (there is) an army, which (is) rebellious (and) does not call itself mine – defeat that!". Afterwards Omises marched off. When he had come to Armenia, after that the rebels assembled (and) went forth against Omises to fight a battle. (There is) a district, Izalā by name, in Assyria – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Anāmaka fifteen days had passed, then the battle was fought by them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: For the second time the rebels assembled (and) went forth against Omises to fight a battle. (There is) a district, Autiyāra by name, in Armenia – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Thūrāvāhara, on the last day, then the battle was fought by them. After that Omises waited for me for a while in Armenia, until I came to Media.

46f. θ-a-i-g-r-c-i-š: the reading of this name (in the genitive form) of the third month (equivalent to Bab. Sīmannu) depends on its etymological interpretation; the most probable etymology is that which combines it with Iran. \**tsigra-* (> NP *sīr*) “garlic”, in which case one has to read /Θāigra°. The date given is 20 June 521 B.C.

49 v-u-mi-i-s; though often connected with the name of the god Iran. \**Miθra-* (> OP \*/Miça-/), this Persian name, which is rendered by Elam. *Ma-u-mi-iš-ša*, Bab. *Ū-mi-is-si*, and Aram. *whwms* (cfr. also Gk. Ὠμίσης), remains extremely problematic.

53 i-z-l-a: this obviously non-Iranian name, which is rendered by Elam. *Iz-zi-la*, Bab. *I-za-al-la-*' (cfr. also Lat. *Izala mons*), is attested since the 9th cent. B.C.; the region named thus is that of either 'all the mountains between the Upper Tigris and the Euphrates River or at least parts of them (cfr. J. N. Postgate, RIA V 225f. s.v. Izalla).

56 XV: parallel to YAv. *panca.dasa* “15” we expect OP \*/*pancadaθā*/; the date given is 31 December 522 B.C.

58f. a-u-t-i-y-a-r: this region, the name of which (rendered as Elam. *Ha-u-ti-ya-ru-iš* and Bab. *Ū-ti-ia-a-ri*) is of obscure origin, cannot be localized with any plausibility (cfr. Schmitt 1980b, 12).

62 ji-i-y-m-n-m p-t-i-y: the fact that the Babylonian version has the more precise information “30th day of Ajjāru” is decisive for the exact understanding of this phrase; the date given thus is 11 June 521 B.C.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam nižāyam hacā Bābirauš, ašiyavam Mādai, yaθā Mādai parārsam, Kunduruš nāma vṛdanam Mādai, avadā haṇ Fravartiš haya Mādai xšāya-θiya agaṇbatā, āš hadā kārā patiš mām hamaranam cartanai, pasāva hamaranam akumā, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kārām tayam Fravartaiš adam ajanam vasai, Ādukanaišahya māhyā pancacā vīθaticā raucabiš θakata āha, avaθā hamaranam akumā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva haṇ Fravartiš hadā kamnai-biš asabāraiš amuθa, Ragā nāmā dahyāuš Mādai, avaparā ašiyava, pasāva adam kārām frāišayam nipadi, Fravartiš agrabiya anayatā abi mām, adamšai utā nāham utā gaušā utā hizānam frājanam utāšai aivam cašma āvajam, duvarayāmai

§ 31

II 64–70

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I departed from Babylon (and) went to Media. When I had come to Media, (there is) a place, Kunduru by name, in Media – there that Phraortes who called himself king in Media came with an army against me to fight a battle. Afterwards we fought the battle; Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā I defeated the army of Phraortes utterly; in the month Ādukani twenty-five days had passed, then we fought the battle.

§ 32

II 70–78

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards that Phraortes with a few horsemen fled; (there is) a district, Ragā by name, in Media – up to that he went. After that I sent an army in ambush. Phraortes was seized (and) led to me; I cut off his nose, ears and tongue, and I put out one eye of his; at my Porte he was

65 ku-u-du-ru-u-š: the name of this place, which cannot be localized with certainty, may be read /Kunduruš/ (according to Bab. *Ku-un-du-ur* and Aram. *kndwr*) or /Kundruš/, if one lays stress on Elam. *Ku-un-tar-ru-iš* (cfr. Schmitt 1974, 111); for an etymological discussion see Wüst 1966, 55–73.

69 a-du-u-k-[n-i]-š-h-y: the genesis of this (hapax) genitive form of the name of the first month (equivalent to Bab. Nisannu) has been plausibly explained by Sims-Williams 1978, 97f.; nevertheless its etymology is much disputed and not yet clear.

69 XXV: the equivalent of the attested YAv. *pañcāca vīšaitica* “25” should without doubt be OP /pancacā vīθaticā/; the date given is 8 May 521 B.C.

71f. r-g-a: the OP name of the district /Ragā/ (mirrored in Elam. *Rák-qa*, Bab. *Ra-ga-*; cfr. Gk. *Ῥάγαι* etc.) lives on in that of mediaeval *Ray* (south of Tehran); it is identified with YAv. *Raya zaraθuštriš* “Zarathushtrian Ragā” by Hoffmann 1979, 91.

72 a-v-p-r-a: for the interpretation of /avaparā/ cfr. Humbach 1985.

73 n-i-p-di-i-y: in the interpretation of /nipadi/ I follow Wüst 1966, 194–197.

74 u-t-a n-a-h-m u-t-a g-u-š-a: this “special treatment, more elaborate than that given to the others” was meted out only to the two Median pretenders Phraortes and Tritantaechmes, as has been stressed by Nylander 1980, 331f.; it may be remarked en passant that Intaphernes, as Herodotus 3,118,2 says, orders “the ears and the nose” (τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὸς ῥίνας) of the attendants who did not let him pass into the presence of the king to be cut off.

75 I c-š-m: rather than the reading /cašam/ (e.g. in Kent 1953) I prefer /cašma/, the equivalent of OAv., YAv. *cašman-* “eye”; for the numeral “one”, which only in DB is written with this sign and which presumably was inflected like a pronoun, this passage and the parallel one in line 89 are evidence enough to exclude the assumption (made by Lecoq 1974, 40<sup>41</sup>) of a proclitic “indefinite article” in the frequent phrase I m-r-t-i-y.

75 a-v-j-m: the reading and interpretation given are those of Strunk 1979, 254–256.

75 du-u-v-r-y-a-m-i-y: the words “the king’s Porte” were used as a technical term for the Achaemenid royal court, as Rüger 1969 has shown from the rich biblical, Greek, and other evidence for that expression, i.a. the words of Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1,9,3.

basta adāriya, haruvašim kāra avajna, pasāvašim Hagmatānaḡ  
uzmayāpati akunavam, utā martiyā, tayaišai fratamā anušiya  
āhantā, avai Hagmatānaḡ antar didām frāhajam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aiḡa martiya Ciçantaxma nāma  
Asagartiya, haḡmaḡ hamīḡiya abava, kārahyā avaθā aθanha:  
adam xšāyaθiya ami Asagartai, Uvaxštrahyā taḡmāyā, pasāva  
adam kāram Pārsam utā Mādam frājšayam, Taxmaspāda nāma  
Māda, manā bandaka, avamšām maθištam akunavam, avaθāšām  
aθanham: paraḡtā, kāram hamīḡiyam haya manā nai gaḡbātai,  
avam jatā, pasāva Taxmaspāda hadā kārā ašiyava, hamaranam  
akunaḡš hadā Ciçantaxmā, Auramazdāmaḡ upastām abara,  
vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam  
hamīḡiyam aja utā Ciçantaxmam aḡrbāya, anaya abi mām,  
pasāvašai adam utā nāham utā gaḡšā frājanam utāšai aiḡam  
cašma āvajam, duvarayāmaḡ basta adāriya, haruvašim kāra  
avajna, pasāvašim Arbairāyā uzmayāpati akunavam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya manā kḡtam Mādai./

§ 33 II 78–91

§ 34 II 91–92

held in fetters, (and) all the people could look at him. After that  
I impaled him at Ecbatana; and the men who were his foremost  
followers, those I hanged at Ecbatana in the fortress.

Proclaims Darius, the king: (There was) one single man,  
Tritantaechmes by name, a Sagartian, he became rebellious to  
me. To the people thus he said: “I am king in Sagartia, of the  
family of Cyaxares”. After that I sent forth a Persian and  
Median army; (there was) a Mede, Takhmaspāda by name, my  
vassal – him I made their chief. Thus I said to them: “Go forth,  
the rebellious army which will not call itself mine – defeat that!”.  
Afterwards Takhmaspāda with the army marched off, (and) he  
fought a battle with Tritantaechmes. Auramazdā brought me  
aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebel-  
lious army, and it captured Tritantaechmes (and) led (him) to  
me. After that I cut off his nose and ears, and I put out one  
eye of his; at my Porte he was held in fetters, (and) all the people  
could look at him. Afterwards I impaled him at Arbela.

Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what has been done by  
me in Media.

77f. a-v-i-y . . . f-r-a-h-j-m: the Babylonian and Elamite versions both have a fuller text, though they differ from each other; a restoration of the  
“original” OP text to agree with the Elamite translation has been proposed by Gershevitch 1979, 124f.

79 c-i-ḡ-t-x-m: the reading /Ciçantaxma/ is assured by Elam. *Zi-iš-šā-an-tak-ma* and Bab. *Ši-it-ra-an-taḡ-ma* (from Med. \**Ciθrantaxma*- as also  
Gk. \*Τιτραντάχμης > Τριτανταίχμης): cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/17.

79 a-s-g-r-t-i-y: for the implications of the fact that a Sagartian pretender to the throne claims to be a descendant of Cyaxares cfr. W. Eilers, EIr  
II 701ab s.v. Asagarta.

79 h-u-v-m-i-y h-m<sup>i</sup>-i-ḡ-i-y: it is noteworthy that OP /hamīḡiya-/ “rebellious” here is not combined as usual with the preposition /hacā/ “from”  
but with a dative form, probably a kind of dativus ethicus.

88f. u-t-a . . . a-v-j-m: a shorter version of the passage in lines 74f. (see above).

90 a-r-b-i-r-a-y-a: the city of /Arbairā-/ (this OP form being adapted from Bab. *Ar-ba-'-il*), which in all probability was the capital of the satrapy  
of Assyria, is to be identified with present Erbil; cfr. J. F. Hansman, EIr II 277f. s.v. Arbela.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Parθava utā Vṛkāna hamiçiyā abava hacāma, Fravartaiš agaṇbatā, Vištāspa manā pitā, haṇ Parθavai āha, avam kāra avahṛda, hamiçiya abava, pasāva Vištāspa ašiyava hadā kārā, hayašai anušiya āha, Višpauzātiš nāma vṛdanam Parθavai, avadā hamaranam akunaṇš hadā Parθavaiḃiš, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha Vištāspa avam kāram tayam hamiçiyam aja vasai, Viyaxnahya māhyā duvaicā viθaticā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

§ 35 II 92–98

Proclaims Darius, the king: Parthia and Hyrcania had become rebellious from me (and) had called themselves owned by Phraortes. Hystaspes (is) my father, he was in Parthia – him the people had abandoned, they had become rebellious. After that Hystaspes marched off with the army which was faithful to him. (There is) a place, Vishpauzāti by name, in Parthia – there he fought a battle with the Parthians. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā Hystaspes defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Viyakhna twenty-two days had passed, then the battle was fought by them.

- 94f. a-v-h-r-[d]: the restoration and reading of this form are very doubtful; I confine myself to citing the treatment in Schmitt 1967b, 64f.; cfr. also Mayrhofer 1970, 284; Schmitt 1980c, 30 s.v. a-v-r-d.
- 95 vi-i-š-[p]-u-z-[a]-t-i-š: the OP form is merely restored on the basis of Elam. *Mi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš* (which diverges from Bab. *Ū-mi-iš-pa-za-tú*, however; cfr. Schmitt 1980a, 122bf.); the name itself is as obscure as the location of the place bearing it.
- 98 XXII: in view of YAv. *pañcāca višaitica* “25” (cfr. above on DB I 17) and YAv. *duuaē(-ca)* = Ved. *dvé*, ntr. “2” (cfr. above on DB I 96) one may postulate OP /duvaicā viθaticā/ for “22”. The date given is 8 March 521 B.C.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |      |           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam kāram Pārsam frājšayam abi Vištāspam hacā Ragāyā, yaθā hau kāra parārsa abi Vištāspam, pasāva Vištāspa āyasatā avam kāram, ašiyava, Patigrabanā nāma vṛdanam Parθavai, avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā hamičiyaiḃiš, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha Vištāspa avam kāram tayam hamičiyam aja vasai, Garmapadahya māhyā aivam rauca θakatam āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./                                                                                                                           | § 36 | III 1–9   | Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I sent forth a Persian army to Hystaspes, from Ragā. When that army had come to Hystaspes, after that Hystaspes took that army to himself (and) marched off. (There is) a place, Patigrabanā by name, in Parthia – there he fought a battle with the rebels. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā Hystaspes defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Garmapada one day had passed, then the battle was fought by them.                                                                                                                                                                             |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva dahyāuš manā abava, ima, taya manā kṛtam Parθavai./                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | § 37 | III 9–10  | Proclaims Darius, the king: After that the country became mine. This (is) what has been done by me in Parthia.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Marguš nāmā dahyāuš, haumai hamičiyā abava, aiva martiya Frāda nāma Mārgava, avam maθištām akunavantā, pasāva adam frājšayam, Dādṛšiš nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, Bāxtriyā xšačapāvā, abi avam, avaθāšai aθanham: paraḃidi, avam kāram jadi, haya manā nai gaubatai, pasāva Dādṛšiš hadā kāra ašiyava, hamaranam akunauš hadā Mārgavaḃiš, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam hamičiyam aja vasai, Āčiyādiyahya māhyā čicā vīθaticā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./ | § 38 | III 10–19 | Proclaims Darius, the king: (There is) a country, Margiana by name, that became rebellious to me. (There was) one single man, Frāda by name, a Margian – him they made (their) chief. After that I sent – (there was) a Persian, Dādarshi by name, my vassal, satrap in Bactria – to him. Thus I said to him: “Go forth, defeat that army which does not call itself mine!”. Afterwards Dādarshi with the army marched off, (and) he fought a battle with the Margians. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month Āčiyādiya twenty-three days had passed, then the battle was fought by them. |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva dahyāuš manā abava, ima, taya manā kṛtam Bāxtriyā./                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | § 39 | III 19–21 | Proclaims Darius, the king: After that the country became mine. This (is) what has been done by me in Bactria.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

4f. p-t-i-g-r-b-n-a: the reading of this Parthian place-name is assured by Elam. *Bat-ti-ig-ráb-ba-na* and Bab. *Pa-tig-ra-[ba]-na*; neither the location of the place nor the exact motive for naming it in this way (cfr. most recently Eilers 1987, 28) are known.

8. I: the neuter form is /aivam/ as above (DB II 75, 89); the date given is 11 July 521 B.C.

12. f-r-a-d: for this (shortened) personal name OP /Frāda-/ , which is rendered by Elam. *Pir-ra-da*, Bab. *Pa-ra-da-* and Aram. *prd*, see Mayrhofer 1979, II/20.

13. d-a-d-r-š-i-š: though he bears the same name, this Persian vassal of Darius's is not to be confounded with the one appearing in column II.

14. a-b-i-y a-v-m: the preposition /abi/ refers here to the goal alone, without any implication of a hostile approach: cfr. in detail Schmitt 1978.

18. XXIII: the neuter equivalent of OP feminine /tišrašcā vīθaticā/ (see above on DB I 17) should be /čicā vīθaticā/ with OP \*/čī/ = YAv. *θrī* = Ved. *trī*; the date given is either 10 December 522 B.C. or 28 December 521 B.C. according as the year in question is interpreted as the king's accession year or his first full regnal year; this question has been discussed in great detail by Borger 1982, 118–122, who has shown convincingly that the historical circumstances in their entirety allow one to think only of the later date (28 December 521 B.C.).

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aīva martiya Vahyazdāta nāmā, Tāravā nāma vṛdanam, Yutiyā nāmā dahyāuš Pārsai, avadā adāraya, haṇ duvitīyam udapatatā Pārsai, kārahyā avaθā aθanha: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, pasāva kārā Pārsa, haya viθāpati hacā Yadāyā frataram, haṇ hacāma hamiçiya abava, abi avam Vahyazdātam ašiyava, haṇ xšāyaθiya abava Pārsai./

§ 40

III 21–28

Proclaims Darius, the king: (There was) one single man, Vahyazdāta by name, (and) (there are) a place, Tāravā by name, (and) a district, Yutiyā by name, in Persia – there he resided. He a second time rose up in Persia. To the people thus he said: “I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus”. After that the Persian army which (was) in the palace, (and) (which had been called up) from Anshan previously, that became rebellious from me (and) went (over) to that Vahyazdāta; he became king in Persia.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam kārām Pārsam utā Mādam frājšayam, haya upā mām āha, Ṛtavardiya nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, avamšām maθištām akunavam, haya aniya kārā Pārsa pasā manā ašiyava Mādam, pasāva Ṛtavardiya hadā kārā ašiyava Pārsam, yaθā Pārsam parārsa, Raxā nāma vṛdanam Pārsai, avadā haṇ Vahyazdāta, haya Bṛdiya agaubatā, āiš hadā kārā patiṣ Ṛtavardiyam hamaranam cartanai, pasāva hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmai upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kārā haya manā avam kārām tayam Vahyazdātahya aja vasai,

§ 41

III 28–40

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was under (the control of) me. (There was) a Persian, Artavardiya by name, my vassal – him I made their chief. The other (remaining) Persian army went behind me to Media. Afterwards Artavardiya with the army went to Persia. When he had come to Persia – (there is) a place, Rakhā by name, in Persia – there that Vahyazdāta who called himself Smerdis came with an army against Artavardiya to fight a battle. Afterwards they fought the battle; Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that army of

- 22 t-a-r-v-a: for this place-name, which is rendered by Elam. [*Da*]-*ra-ú-ma*, Bab. *Ta-ar-ma* and Aram. *trw* (cfr. Schmitt 1986b, 224, 227) and has long since been identified with modern Tārum, see most recently Gershevitch 1979, 148<sup>37</sup>.
- 22 y-u-t-i-y-a: the name of this district in eastern Persis has to be read as /Yutiyā/ because of Elam. *Ya-ú-ti-ya-iš* (cfr. Bab. *Ia-ú-ti-ia*); but cfr. the references given in Schmitt 1980c, 47.
- 24 du-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m: an ingenious but rather speculative solution of the problems relative to the grammar (esp. the contrast with /pati duvitīyam/ in DB II 37f. etc.) and content of this form (Vahyazdāta not having revolted before) has been offered by Gershevitch 1979, 179; I think, however, that the reference is merely to a second revolt in Persia plotted by some one who gave his name as Smerdis.
- 26 h-c-a y-d-a-y-a: unlike several other explanations held up to now, which lead to the isolation of the Old Persian text, the interpretation of /Yadāyā/ as the ablative of a geographical name and as the equivalent of the famous Elamite capital *An-ša-an* (see esp. J. Hansman, EIr II 103–107 s.v. Anshan) is in full agreement with the Elamite (and the Babylonian) version; an attempt to reconcile even the divergent forms OP y-d-a- and Elam. *An-ša-an* is made by Gershevitch 1979, 148f.<sup>37</sup>; the OP construction of the whole sentence (esp. if compared with the shorter expression in DB II 16) is in any case problematic and calls for assuming that a verbal form (/hangmata/ according to Gershevitch 1979, 125) has been omitted by the engraver; on this passage cfr. also Hinz 1967, 327ff.; Dandamaev 1976, 171ff., 177f.; Borger-Hinz 1984, 438.
- 30f. a-r-t-v-r-d-i-y: for this name (cfr. Elam. *Ir-du-mar-ti-ya*), the Babylonian and Aramaic renderings of which (Bab. *Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia*, Aram. *’rtwrzy*) mirror its Median counterpart \*/Ṛtavarziya-/, cfr. esp. Mayrhofer 1979, II/13.
- 34 r-x-a: the location of this place, the name of which is rendered by Elam. *Rák-qa-an* (the distinction from /Ragā/ in Media thus becoming effaced in Elamite) and Bab. *Ra-[ah]-’*, is not yet clear.

Θūrāvāharahya māhyā duvādaθā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva haṇ Vahyazdāta hadā kamnaḃiḃi asabāraḃiḃi amuθa, ašiyava Pašiyāuvādā, hacā avadaš kāram āyasatā, hayāparam āiš patiš R̥tavardiyam hamaranam cartanaḃi, P̥rga nāma kauḃa, avadā hamaranam akunavaḃi, Auramazdāmaḃi upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam Vahyazdātahya aja vasai, Garmapadahya māhyā pancā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam, utā avam Vahyazdātam agṛbāya utā martiyā, tayaišaiḃi fratamā anušiḃi āhanta, agṛbāya./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam avam Vahyazdātam utā martiyā, tayaišaiḃi fratamā anušiḃi āhanta, Uvādaicaya nāma vṛdanam Pārsaiḃi, avadašiš uzmayāpati akunavam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya manā kṛtam Pārsaiḃi./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: haṇ Vahyazdāta, haya Bṛdiya agaḃbatā, haṇ kāram frājšaya Harauvatim, Vivāna nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, Harauvatiyā xšaçaḃāwā, abi avam, utāšām aiḃvam martiyam maθištām akunaḃiḃi, avaθāšām aθanha: paraḃtā, Vivānam jatā utā avam kāram, haya Dārayavahaḃiḃi xšāyaθiyahyā gaḃbataḃi, pasāva haṇ kāra ašiyava, tayam Vahyazdāta frājšaya

§ 42 III 40–49

§ 43 III 49–52

§ 44 III 52–53

§ 45 III 53–64

Vahyazdāta utterly; in the month Thūrāvāhara twelve days had passed, then the battle was fought by them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards that Vahyazdāta with a few horsemen fled (and) went to Paishiyāuvādā; from there he took an army to himself. Once more he came against Artavardiya to fight a battle. (There is) a mountain, Parga by name – there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that army of Vahyazdāta utterly; in the month Garmapada five days had passed, then the battle was fought by them. And (my army) captured that Vahyazdāta, and they captured the men who were his foremost followers.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I (impaled) that Vahyazdāta and the men who were his foremost followers – (there is) a place, Uvādaicaya by name, in Persia – there I impaled them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what has been done by me in Persia.

Proclaims Darius, the king: That Vahyazdāta who called himself Smerdis, he had sent forth an army to Arachosia – (there was) a Persian, Vivāna by name, my vassal, satrap in Arachosia – against him, and he had made one single man their chief. Thus he had said to them: “Go forth, defeat Vivāna and that army which calls itself (that) of Darius, the king!”. Afterwards that army which Vahyazdāta had sent forth against Vivāna marched

39 XII: as the continuation of Iran. \*duvādatsa (= Ved. dvādaśa etc.) and equivalent of YAv. duua.dasa “12” one may assume OP \*/duvādaθā/; the date given is 24 May 521 B.C.

43 h-y-a-p-r-m: though the elements of this form (the pronominal stem /haya-/ and the adverb /aparam/ “later”) are evident, the origin and syntactical details of their joining are not altogether clear; cfr. most recently Gershevitch 1979, 176f., 179f.

44 p-r-g: the reading of this mountain name as OP /P̥rga-/ is based on the Bab. rendering *Pa-ar-ga-* and the continuation NP *Purg* (Arabicized *Furf*), though at first sight this reading seems to be at variance with Elam. *Bar-rāk-qa*; for details see Schmitt 1980a, 123ab (whereby Schmitt 1974, 112, has been outdated).

47 V: this numeral has to be interpreted as OP \* <p-c-a> /pancā/ = YAv. *pança* = Ved. *pāñca*; the date given is 15 July 521 B.C.

51 u-v-a-d-i-c-y: for the problems connected with this name of an important settlement in the vicinity of Persepolis (rendered by Elam. *Ma-te-(iz-)zi-iš*, Bab. *Ū-ma-da-sa-ia*), which is also mentioned in several Babylonian juridical documents as *Hu-ma-de-(e-)šú*, see Zadok 1976, 67ff.; Stolper 1983, 306ff.



abi Vivānam, hamaranam cartanaḥ, Kāpiśakāniš nāmā didā,  
avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmaḥ upastām abara,  
vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam kāram tayam  
hamiçiyam aja vasaḥ, Anāmakahya māhyā çayazdaθā rauçabiš  
θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pati hayāparam hamiçiyā han-  
gmatā paraḥtā patiš Vivānam hamaranam cartanaḥ, Gandutava  
nāmā dahyāuš, avadā hamaranam akunava, Auramazdāmaḥ  
upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha kāra haya manā avam  
kāram tayam hamiçiyam aja vasaḥ, Viyaxnahya māhyā haftā rau-  
cabiš θakatā āha, avaθāšām hamaranam kṛtam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva haḥ martiya, haya avahyā  
kārahyā maθišta āha, tayam Vahyazdāta frāišaya abi Vivānam,  
haḥ amuθa hadā kamnaḥbiš asabāraḥbiš, ašiyava, Ršādā nāmā  
didā Harauvatiyā, avaparā atiyāiš, pasāva Vivāna hadā kāra  
nipadi tayaḥ ašiyava, avadāšim agraḥbāya utā martiyā, tayaḥišai  
fratamā anušiya āhantā, avāja./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva dahyāuš manā abava, ima,  
taya manā kṛtam Harauvatiyā./

§ 46 III 64–69

§ 47 III 69–75

§ 48 III 75–76

off to fight a battle. (There is) a fortress, Kāpiśakāni by name  
– there they fought the battle. Auramazdā brought me aid; by  
the favour of Auramazdā my army defeated that rebellious army  
utterly; in the month Anāmaka thirteen days had passed, then  
the battle was fought by them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Once more the rebels assembled  
(and) went forth against Vivāna to fight a battle. (There is) a  
district, Gandutava by name – there they fought the battle.  
Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā my  
army defeated that rebellious army utterly; in the month  
Viyakhna seven days had passed, then the battle was fought by  
them.

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards that man who was the  
chief of that army which Vahyazdāta had sent forth against  
Vivāna, he fled with a few horsemen (and) went off. (There is)  
a fortress, Arshādā by name, in Arachosia – up to that he came.  
Afterwards Vivāna with the army marched hard on their heels;  
there he captured him, and he slew the men who were his fore-  
most followers.

Proclaims Darius, the king: After that the country became  
mine. This (is) what has been done by me in Arachosia.

60f. k-a-p-i-š-k-a-n-i-š: the name of this fortress, which was situated in Arachosia (as the Elamite and Babylonian versions expressly state), is rendered by Elam. *Qa-ap-pi-iš-šā-qa-nu-iš* and Bab. *Ka-pi-šā-ka-na-*; for a long time it has been connected with the ancients' Κάπισα (Ptolemy, Pliny, etc.), which is situated in the Paropamisus mountains, however; on the problems connected with these and similar toponyms cfr. most recently Bernard 1974, 177ff.; who rightly prefers a localization at modern Kandahār.

63 XIII: as the regular counterpart of Ved. *tráyodaśa* and the forerunner of MP, NP *sēzdah* (YAv. \**θridasa* “13”, attested only in the ordinal *θridasa-* “thirteenth”, being a morphologically different formation) we have to expect OP /çayazdaθā/; the date given is 29 December 522 B.C.

66 g-du-u-t-v: there are several problems concerning the reading of this toponym, since the equivalents of OP g-du-u-t-v, which most probably represents /Gandutava/, are Elam. *Kān-du-ma-qa* (thus Cameron *apud* von Voigtlander 1978, 36), characterized as situated “in Arachosia”, and Bab. *Gan-da-ta-[ma]-ki-*, situated “in Sattagydia” (see Schmitt 1980a, 113f.<sup>25</sup>); as to its localization at modern Gandamak (east of Kabul) and not near Gandawa (south of Quetta) cfr. esp. von Voigtlander 1978, 36; Fleming 1982, 107f.

68 VII: the numeral for “seven” is OP \* <h-f-t-a > /haftā/ (cfr. above on DB II 26); the date given is 21 February 521 B.C.

72 a-r-š-a-d-a: this fortress (Elam. *Ir-šā-da*, Bab. *Ar-šā-da-*) is said to be that of Vivāna in the Babylonian version or even his estate (*ir-ma-tam*) in the Elamite; its former identification with Kandahār is objected to by Bernard 1974, 178f.<sup>23</sup>.

72f. a-v-p-r-a a-t-i-y-a-i-š: for this phrase, which has no precise equivalent in the other versions, see Humbach 1985; Gershevitch 1987, 53ff.

73 n-i-p-di-i-y: on the problematic prepositional use of this “phrasal adverb” (cfr. above on DB II 73) see Schmitt 1976, 152; the emendation considered there seems to lack any textual foundation, however.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yātā adam Pārsaī utā Mādaī āham, pati duvitīyam Bābiruviyā hamičiya abava hacāma, aīva martiya Araxa nāma Arminiya, Halditahya puça, haū udapatatā Bābiraū, Dubāla nāmā dahyāuš, hacā avadaš, haū kārāhyā avaθā adurujiya: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaītahya puça, pasāva kāra Bābiruviya hacāma hamičiya abava, abi avam Araxam ašiyava, Bābirum haū agṭbāyatā, haū xšāyaθiya abava Bābiraū./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva adam kārām frājšayam Bābirum, Vindafarnā nāma Pārsa, manā bandaka, avamšām maθištām akunavam, avaθāšām aθanham: paraītā, avam kārām Bābiruviyam jatā, haya manā nai gaṭbātai, pasāva Vindafarnā hadā kārā ašiyava Bābirum, Auramazdāmaī upastām abara, vašnā Auramazdāha Vindafarnā Bābiruviyā aja utā bastā anayā, Vṛkazanahya māhyā duvaīcā vīθaticā raucabiš θakatā āha, avaθā avam Araxam, haya Nabukudracara duruxtam agaṭbatā, utā martiyā, tayaīšaī fratamā anušiya āhantā, agṭbāya, niyaštāyam, haū Araxa utā martiyā, tayaīšaī fratamā anušiya āhantā, Bābiraū uzmayāpati akariyantā./

§ 49

III 76–83

Proclaims Darius, the king: Whilst I was in Persia and Media, for the second time the Babylonians became rebellious from me. (There was) one single man, Arakha by name, an Armenian, the son of Haldita, he rose up in Babylonia – (there is) a district, Dubāla by name – from there. He lied to the people thus: “I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na’id”. Afterwards the Babylonian people became rebellious from me (and) went (over) to that Arakha; he seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.

§ 50

III 83–92

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards I sent forth an army to Babylon. (There was) a Persian, Intaphernes by name, my vassal – him I made their chief. Thus I said to them: “Go forth, defeat that Babylonian army which will not call itself mine!”. Afterwards Intaphernes with the army went to Babylon. Auramazdā brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazdā Intaphernes slew the Babylonians and led (them) in fetters. In the month Varkazana twenty-two days had passed, then he captured that Arakha who falsely called himself Nebuchadnezzar, and the men who were his foremost followers. I gave orders, (and) that Arakha and the men who were his foremost followers were impaled at Babylon.

- 78 a-r-x: for this name of an Armenian, which is to be read as /Araxa/ according to Elam. *Ha-rak-ka* and Bab. *A-ra-hu* and which, though of unknown origin, is surely non-Iranian, see esp. Mayrhofer 1979, II/14f., and Schmitt 1980b, 9f.; cfr. also M. A. Dandamayev, EIr II 268ab s.v. Araxa.
- 79 h-l-di-i-t-h-y: for this (genitive form of the) name /Haldita/, which is rendered by Elam. *Hal-ti-da* and Bab. *Hal-di-ta* and which in the last analysis is without doubt of Urartian origin, see Mayrhofer 1979, II/21f., and Schmitt 1980b, 10f.
- 79 du-u-b-a-l: instead of this district, the name of which is mirrored in Elam. *Du-ib-ba-[la]*, the Babylonian version mentions Ur, though the toponym Bab. *Du-ba-al* is known from administrative tablets; cfr. von Voigtlander 1978, 37; Schmitt 1980a, 111b; Zadok 1981, 665; Stolper 1987, 396<sup>35</sup>.
- 84 vi-i-d-f-r-n-a: the reading /Vindafarnā/ is indicated by the renderings Elam. *Mi-in-da-bar-na* and Bab. *Ū-mi-in-ta-pa-ar-na-*’ (but see also Gk. Ἰνδοφέρνης etc.); cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/28.
- 88 v-r-k-z-n-h-y: this month name is reconstructed only on the basis of Elam. *Mar-qa-za-na-iš* (and several variants attested on the Persepolis tablets); it is the name of the eighth month (corresponding to Bab. *Araḥsamnu*); the date given is 27 November 521 B.C.
- 91 n-i-y-š-t-a-y-m: it is hard to believe that the Old Persian text as usually edited contains Darius’s own words, despite its agreement with the Elamite version; following a verb like /niyaštāyam/ “I gave orders”, analogy leads one to expect the wording of these orders and not (or at least: not following immediately and without any connection) the statement that they have been carried out; in this respect the Babylonian version, it seems to me, is more characteristic of Old Persian style; but there seems to be no basis whatever for changing the text accordingly (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 34–36).

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya manā kṛtam Bābirau./

§ 51

IV 1–2

Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what has been done by me in Babylon.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahyāyā θarda, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam: navadaθā hamaranā akunavam, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšiš ajanam utā navā xšāyaθiyā agṛbāyam, aīva Gaumāta nāma maguš āha, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, haṇ Pārsam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Āçina nāma Ūjiya, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Ūjaī, haṇ Ūjam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Nidintabajra nāma Bābiruviya, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaītahya puça, haṇ Bābirum hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Martiya nāma Pārsa, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Imaniš ami, Ūjaī xšāyaθiya, haṇ Ūjam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Fravartiš nāma Māda, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Xšaθrita ami, Uvaxštrahya taumāyā, haṇ Mādam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Ciçantaxma nāma Asagartiya, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Asagartaī, Uvaxštrahya taumāyā, haṇ Asagartam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Frāda nāma Mārgava, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau, haṇ Margum hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Vahyazdāta nāma Pārsa, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, haṇ Pārsam hamīçiyam akunauš, aīva Araxa nāma Arminiya, haṇ adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaītahya puça, haṇ Bābirum hamīçiyam akunauš./

§ 52

IV 2–31

Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what I have done by the favour of Auramazdā in one and the same year, after that I became king: Nineteen battles I have fought. By the favour of Auramazdā I defeated them and captured nine kings: One (was) a magus, Gaumāta by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus”. He made Persia rebellious. One (was) an Elamite, Āçina by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am king in Elam”. He made Elam rebellious. One (was) a Babylonian, Nidintu-Bēl by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na’id”. He made Babylonia rebellious. One (was) a Persian, Martiya by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Imani, king in Elam”. He made Elam rebellious. One (was) a Mede, Phraortes by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares”. He made Media rebellious. One (was) a Sagartian, Tritantaechmes by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares”. He made Sagartia rebellious. One (was) a Margian, Frāda by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am king in Margiana”. He made Margiana rebellious. One (was) a Persian, Vahyazdāta by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus”. He made Persia rebellious. One (was) an Armenian, Arakha by name; he lied; thus he said: “I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na’id”. He made Babylonia rebellious.

4f. h-m-h-y-a-y-a θ-r-d: all the events described by Darius really were accomplished in one and the same year, as has recently been shown by Borger 1982, 20–24: setting aside the murder of Gaumāta, all Darius’s deeds from his first victory over the Babylonians on the 26th day of Āçiyādiya (i.e., 13 December 522 B.C.; cfr. DB I 89) until the overthrow of Frāda by Dādarshi on the 23rd day of Āçiyādiya (i.e., 28 December 521 B.C.; cfr. DB III 18) were achieved within one year of the Persian-Babylonian calendar, since the accession year of Darius I, as is well known from other evidence, had an intercalary month and thus lasted from 27 March 522 to 13 April 521 B.C. But in this connection it should not be ignored that this phrase “in one and the same year” may reflect Urartian influence, since the same expression is attested also in an inscription of Argišti I, king of Urartu.

5 XIX: as the equivalent of YAv. \**nauuadasa* “19” (attested via the ordinal *nauua.dasa* “nineteenth”) one may expect OP \*/navadaθā/.

6 a-d-m-š-i-š: the anaphoric pronoun OP /-šiš/, the object of /ajanam/, cannot refer to /hamaranā/ “battles” (which is usually connected with the root /kar-/ “to make, do”) and thus lacks a formally expressed referent (“the enemies opposing Darius in these battles”).

12 n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r: beside ten attestations of n-di-i-t-b-i-r, here and in DBd 1 is found this fuller writing, which is nearer to the Babylonian original (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 38f.).

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| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imai navā xšāyaθiyā, tayai adam agrbāyam antar imā hamaranā./                                                                                                                 | § 53 | IV 31–32 | Proclaims Darius, the king: These (are) the nine kings whom I have captured within these battles.                                                                                                                                                              |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: dahyāva imā, tayā hamičiyā abava, draugadiš hamičiyā akunauš, taya imai kāram adurujiyaša, pasāvadiš Auramazdā manā dastayā akunauš, yaθā mām kāma, avaθādiš akunavam./       | § 54 | IV 33–36 | Proclaims Darius, the king: These (are) the countries which became rebellious. Falsehood made them rebellious, because these (men) lied to the people. Afterwards Auramazdā put them into my hand. As (was) my desire, so I treated them.                      |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhi, hacā draugā dṛšam patipayauvā, martiya, haya draujana ahati, avam ufraštam pṛsā, yadi avaθā maniyāhaj: dahyāušmaj duruvā ahati./         | § 55 | IV 36–40 | Proclaims Darius, the king: You, whosoever shall be king hereafter, be on your guard very much against Falsehood! The man who shall be a follower of Falsehood – punish him severely, if thus you shall think: “Let my country be consolidated!”               |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam, vašnā Auramazdāha hamahyāyā θarda akunavam, tuvam kā, haya aparam imām dipim patipṛsāhi, taya manā kṛtam vṛnavatām θuvām, mātaya draugam maniyāhaj./ | § 56 | IV 40–43 | Proclaims Darius, the king: This which I have done, by the favour of Auramazdā in one and the same year I have done (it). You, whosoever shall read this inscription hereafter, let what (has been) done by me convince you, lest you should esteem Falsehood. |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: Auramazdāha ragam vṛdiyai, yaθā ima hašiyam, nai duruxtam adam akunavam hamahyāyā θarda./                                                                                     | § 57 | IV 43–45 | Proclaims Darius, the king: I will take Auramazdā’s anger upon myself that I did this truly, not falsely in one and the same year.                                                                                                                             |

- 33 d-h-y-a-v i-m-a: the exceptional position of the demonstrative pronoun after the noun (contrary to DB I 13 etc. /imā dahyāva, tayā . . ./) is noteworthy; the fact that such a word-order is usual in the Elamite version might suggest that one here obtains grammatical evidence for assuming a retranslation of the Old Persian text from Elamite by a little inadvertency of the translators.
- 37 x-[š-a-y-θ-i-y]: this nominative form cannot belong to the address introduced by /tuvam kā/ (“you” + generalizing particle) but is part of the relative clause (cfr. Kent 1953, 96b § 310.VIII).
- 39f. d-h-y-a-u-š-m-i-y d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a a-h-t-i-y: as is well known, this formula, which seems to be rooted in Indo-Iranian poetical tradition (cfr. Ved. *dhruvāṁ bhūmim* “the fixed earth”: Schmitt 1970b), is not translated in the Elamite version but rendered by the translators in the Old Persian wording as v.da-a-ya-ū-iš-mi tar-ma aš-du; the divergent verb form, which represents the imperative OP \*/astu/, suggests, however, that this is one of those cases where the king revised and changed the original text when it was retranslated from the Elamite language into Old Persian.
- 43 m-a-t-y: as to the interpretation and meaning of this conjunction I follow Utas 1966, 129–140.
- 43 d-r-[u-g]-m: Utas 1966, 135–137, has convincingly shown that in this passage OP /drauga-/ “lie, falsehood” has the same meaning as in all other cases (“the Lie/Falsehood as the evil principle”) and not the same meaning as OP /duruxta-/ in lines 49f. below (“the lie as a false statement”).
- 44 a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h [r]-g-m [v]-r-di-i-y-i-y: as to the reading of this rather problematic passage see the textual note ad loc.; the verb (which is not v-r-t-i-y-i-y, so that the interpretation [proposed by Gershevitch 1959, 184] as a denominative stem \*/vratiya-/ derived from OP \*/vrati-/ = YAv. *uruvaiti*- “vow, pledge” is no longer possible) most probably has to be read /vṛdiyai/ and thus necessarily interpreted as a middle form of the stem OP /vṛdiya-/ = Av. *vərəziia*- “to do, work, accomplish” (= Goth. *vaírþja*-, all being from PIE. \**urǵ-je*-); for r-g-m, which must be the object of that verb, the only possibility I see is to consider it the counterpart of Ved. *rāgha*- “anger, evil” (Taittirīyāraṇyaka 1,1,3; 21,2); it seems to me quite plausible that the expression “I will take Auramazdā’s anger upon myself” is to be understood as meaning “I swear by Auramazdā”.
- 44f. h-š-i-y-m n-i-y d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x-t-m: these two forms (both neuter accusatives of adjectives) must be interpreted as adverbs; only thus does one avoid the usual contrived translation with the addition (in brackets) of a relative pronoun.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai aniyašci vasai asti kṛtam, ava ahyāyā dipiyā nai nipištam, avahyarādī nai nipištam, māta ya haya aparam imām dipim pati-pṛsāti, avahyā paru θadayāti, taya manā kṛtam, naišim ima vṛnavātai, duruxtam maniyātai./ | § 58 | IV 45–50 | Proclaims Darius, the king: By the favour of Auramazdā also much else has been done by me; that (has) not (been) written down in this inscription, (and) for that reason (it has) not (been) written down, lest – who will read this inscription hereafter, to him what has been done by me should seem (too) much, (and) this should not convince him, (but) he regard it (as) false. |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: taya paruvā xšāyaθiyā yātā āha, avaišām avā nai asti kṛtam, yaθā manā vašnā Auramazdāha hamahyāyā θarda kṛtam./                                                                                                                            | § 59 | IV 50–52 | Proclaims Darius, the king: The previous kings – as long as they were, by them so much has not been done as by me (has been) done by the favour of Auramazdā in one and the same year.                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: nūram θuvām vṛnavatām, taya manā kṛtam, avaθā kārahyā θādi, mā apagaudaya, yadi imām handugām nai apagaudayāhi, kārahyā θāhi, Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā, utātai taumā vasai biyā, utā dargam jivā./                                      | § 60 | IV 52–56 | Proclaims Darius, the king: Now let what (has been) done by me convince you! Thus make (it) known to the people, do not conceal (it)! If you shall not conceal this record, (but) make (it) known to the people, may Auramazdā be friendly to you, and may offspring be to you in great number, and may you live long!                                                                 |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi imām handugām apagaudayāhi, nai θāhi kārahyā, Auramazdātai jantā biyā, utātai taumā mā biyā./                                                                                                                                         | § 61 | IV 57–59 | Proclaims Darius, the king: If you shall conceal this record, (and) not make (it) known to the people, may Auramazdā be your destroyer, and may offspring not be to you!                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam, hamahyāyā θarda vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam, Auramazdāmai upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, taya hanti./                                                                                                           | § 62 | IV 59–61 | Proclaims Darius, the king: This which I have done, in one and the same year by the favour of Auramazdā I have done (it). Auramazdā brought me aid and the other gods who are.                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

46 u-t-a-m-i-y: for the interpretation of OP /utā/<sup>2</sup> “also, even” (as against /utā/<sup>1</sup> “and”) and of the whole passage see Schmitt 1986c.

49 θ-d-y-a-[t-i-y]: the form must be understood (just like YAv. *saḍaiia-* and Ved. *chadāya-* “to seem (good)”) as active throughout, i.e. as OP /θadayāti/, according to Hoffmann 1975, 165f.

51 a-v-a: this form /avā/ may belong rather to the stem OP \*/avant-/ = YAv. *auuant-* “so much, so great” than to the demonstrative /ava-/; cfr. Schmitt 1975, 192.

54 θ-a-di-i-y: the reading of this imperative form, first conjectured by Benveniste 1951, 26f., 50, because of the repeated opposition of /θā-/ “to make known, proclaim” and /apagaudaya-/ “to conceal”, was confirmed by Cameron 1960, 67f. (cfr. most recently Skjærvø 1985, 216).

59f. i-m t-y . . . a-u-r-m-z-d-a-h a-k<sup>u</sup>-u-n-v-m: in this sentence the word order diverges from that of lines 40f. above by the inversion of the two phrases /hamahyāyā θarda/ and /vašnā Auramazdāha/ in order to lay emphasis on the latter.

61 a-n-[i-y-a-h b]-g-a-h: “other gods” of the Persians apart from Zeus *alias* Auramazdā are mentioned also in Xenophon, *Cyrupædia* 1,6,1; 3,3,21; etc. For the interpretation of this phrase, which may be influenced by “alien scribal convention” (thus Boyce 1982, 83), see in particular Gershevitch 1964, 17f., and, most recently, Gnoli 1983.

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādīmai Auramazdā upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha, tayai hanti, yaθā nai arīka āham, nai draujana āham, nai zūrakara āham, nai adam naiimai taumā, upari rštām upariyāyam, nai škauθim nai tunuvantam zūra akunavam, martiya, haya hamataxšatā manā viθiyā, avam ubṛtam abaram, haya viyanāθaya, avam ufraštām apṛsam./ | § 63 | IV 61–67 | Proclaims Darius, the king: For that reason Auramazdā brought me aid and the other gods who are, because I was not disloyal, I was no follower of Falsehood, I was no evil-doer, neither I nor my family, (but) I acted according to righteousness, neither to the powerless nor to the powerful did I do wrong, (and) the man who strove for my (royal) house, him I treated well, who did harm, him I punished severely. |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam āhi, martiya, haya draujana ahati hayavā zūrakara ahati, avai mā dauštā biyā, ufraštādiš pṛsā./                                                                                                                                                                                                | § 64 | IV 67–69 | Proclaims Darius, the king: You, whosoever shall be king hereafter – the man who shall be a follower of Falsehood, or (the man) who shall be an evil-doer, to those may you not be friendly, (but) punish them severely.                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: tuvam kā, haya aparam imām dipim vajnāhi, tayām adam niyapinθam, imaiivā patikarā, mātaya vikanāhi, yāvā daθans āhi, avaθādiš paribarā./                                                                                                                                                                                       | § 65 | IV 69–72 | Proclaims Darius, the king: You, whosoever hereafter shall look at this inscription which I have written down, or these sculptures, do not destroy (them); as long as you shall be vigorous, thus care for them!                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

- 64f. u-p-r-i-y a-r-š-t-a-m u-p-r-i-y-a-[y]-m: though this use of OP /upari/ “upon” (> “according to”) is quite striking, I cannot accept the interpretation of Salomon 1974 (“I went beyond righteousness”) because of the other versions and for syntactic-stylistic reasons (viz., the sentence boundary compellingly required before /upari/).
- 65 š-k-u-θ-i-m: the reading of this adjective OP /škauθi-/ (> MP *škōh*) “poor, weak, powerless” now being assured, one has to explain only its relation to the doublet with initial /s-/ /skauθi-/ which likewise occurs as the opposite of /tunuvant-/ “powerful”: for this question cfr. Wüst 1966, 283–287 (with an erroneous attempt to explain /š-/ as sandhi-conditioned, however).
- 65f. h-m-t-x-š-t-a: cfr. especially Mayrhofer 1964a, 141f. – For the content of this entire passage attesting to both the punishment of evil-doers and the reward of loyal helpers cfr. the statement of Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 14,7, about the great king’s laws, which “not only punish those who do wrong but also benefit the righteous” (οὐ μόνον ζημιοῦσι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους).
- 66 vi-i-y-n-a-θ-y: for the stem OP /nāθaya-/ = Ved. *nāśāya-* “to (do) harm, make disappear, destroy” cfr. Jamison 1983, 141f., who retains this Indo-Iranian equation against Kellens 1976, 66, who thought of a root Iran. \**nāth-*.
- 69 u-f-r-š-t-a-dī-i-š: only this reading, for which there are to be seen unambiguous traces on the photograph, furnishes a construction which fully agrees with the other instances (e.g., DB IV 66f. /avam ufraštām apṛsam/) and fully fits into the frame of OP syntax: enclitic /-diš/ “them” as the obligatory direct object and the plural /ufraštā/ as the nominal element of the idiom in question.
- 71 n-i-y-p-i-θ-m: this imperfect form /niyapinθam/ (from the present stem OP /pinθa-/ = Ved. *pīṃśá-* “to carve, adorn, form”), now confirmed by the photograph of the inscription itself, was first restored on account of the relevant morphological rules by Cowgill 1968b, 265f.
- 71 m-a-t-y vi-i-k-n-a-h-y: this unique example of OP /mātaya/ in a principal clause, usually interpreted as a prohibitive, remains rather uncertain: cfr. Utas 1966, 139f.; it is to be noted, moreover, that no expression of the object is present in the sentence as it stands.
- 71f. d-θ-s: in the interpretation of d-θ-s as /daθans/ “being vigorous” I accede to the proposal of Gershevitch 1959, 197–199 – but only, to be honest, in default of acceptable alternatives; it may be added, however, that neither the reading *c-* (instead of *d-*) nor the possibility of joining the form with the following a-h-y are entirely out of the question.
- 72 a-v-θ-a-dī-i-š: by this reading /avaθā-diš/, which seems to be clear, the verb /paribarā/ at last gets the object lacking till now.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi imām dipim vajnāhi imaiṽ patikarā, najdiš vikanāhi utātai yāvā taumā ahati paribarāhidiš, Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā, utātai taumā vasai biyā, utā dargam jīvā, utā taya kunavāhi, avatai Auramazdā ucāram kunaṭtu./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: yadi imām dipim imaiṽ patikarā vajnāhi, vikanāhidiš utātai yāvā taumā ahati najdiš paribarāhi, Auramazdātai jantā biyā, utātai taumā mā biyā, utā taya kunavāhi, avatai Auramazdā nikantu./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: imai martiyā, tayai adakai avadā āhantā, yātā adam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam, haya Bṛdiya agaṇbatā, adakai imai martiyā hamataxšantā anušiya manā: Vindafarnā nāma, Vahyasparuvahyā puça, Pārsa, Utāna nāma, Ōuxrahyā puça, Pārsa, Gaṇb(a)ruva nāma, Mṛduniyahyā

§ 66

IV 72–76

Proclaims Darius, the king: If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and, as long as there is strength to you, shall care for them, may Auramazdā be friendly to you, and may offspring be to you in great number, and may you live long! And what you shall do, may Auramazdā make that successful for you!

§ 67

IV 76–80

Proclaims Darius, the king: If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall destroy them and shall not, as long as there is strength to you, care for them, may Auramazdā be your destroyer, and may offspring not be to you! And what you shall do, may Auramazdā let that go wrong for you!

§ 68

IV 80–86

Proclaims Darius, the king: These (are) the men who at that time were there, whilst I slew Gaumāta the magus who called himself Smerdis. At that time these men strove as my followers: (one) Intaphernes by name, the son of Vahyasparuva, a Persian; (one) Otanes by name, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; (one) Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; (one)

73f. u-t-a-t-i-y: that /utā/ here has no additive value (as it is expressly interpreted by Kent 1953, 92a § 291.I) but an adversative one has rightly been stressed by Klein 1988, 397a with fn. 16.

74 t-u-m-a: I follow the common opinion in understanding OP /taumā/ here and in line 78 below as “strength” (nom. sing. of /tauman-/) and not “family, offspring”, as it is interpreted by Benveniste 1951, 38 (cfr. Wüst 1966, 91<sup>1</sup>; etc.), who does not take notice of the testimony of the Elamite version and, moreover, starts from the erroneous view that there is no other evidence for /tauman-/ “strength” (for which cfr., however, Mayrhofer 1982).

83 v-<sup>h</sup>-y-s-p-<sup>r</sup>-u-v-<sup>h</sup>-y-a: for this name (in the genitive case), which cannot yet be restored with absolute certainty (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 52–54), though v-h-y-s- /Vahyas-/ now seems to be more and more probable, cfr., most recently, Mayrhofer 1979, II/29f. s.v. V[- . . .]-s-p[- . . .]-; Borger-Hinz 1984, 447 fn. b (where Hinz retains his interpretation *Vahyasparva*); and Schmitt, l.c.

83 u-t-a-n: this name /Utāna-/ which is best known in its Greek form Ὀτάνης, is rendered as Elam. *Hu-ud-da-na* and Bab. *Ū-mi-it-ta-na*’ and most probably may be understood as “having good offspring”; cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/27.

83 θ-u-x-r-h-y-a: the name OP /Ōuxra-/ (mirrored in Elam. *Du-uk-kur-ra*), attested here in the genitive form, is the equivalent of Med. \**Suxra*- (as reflected in Bab. *Su-uḫ-ra*’); cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/26.

84 g-u-b-<sup>r</sup>-u-v: whereas Elam. *Kam-bar-ma* and Bab. *Gu-ba-ru*’ suggest a reading /Gaṇbaruva-/ for the ambiguous OP writing (cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/20f.), just this is excluded by the Greek rendering of this name as Γωβρύης; likewise rather doubtful is the etymology of its second element; if it is to be compared with YAv. <sup>o</sup>*baoruuā* = Ved. <sup>o</sup>*bharva*-, it may be interpreted as “eating cattle” (Bollée), “chewing cattle” (Humbach 1981, 90), or “having cattle (or: beef) for food” (Schindler).

84 m-r-d-u-n-i-y-h-y-[a]: for the interpretation of this well-known name (here in the genitive form) OP /Mṛduniya-/ (cfr. Elam. *Mar-du-nu-ia*), the most famous bearer of which was Darius’s general Μαρδόνιος, one has to start from Iran. \**mṛdu*- in view of its rendering as Bab. *Mar-du-ni-ia* and Aram. *Mrdny*; cfr., most recently, Mayrhofer 1979, II/24; R. Schmitt, RIA VII 359ab s.v. Mardonios.

puça, Pārsa, Vidṛna nāma, Bagābignahyā puça, Pārsa, Baga-  
buxša nāma, Dātavahyahyā puça, Pārsa, Ardumaniš nāma,  
Vahukahyā puça, Pārsa./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: tuvam kā, xšāyaθiya haya aparam  
āhi, tayām imaišām martiyānām taumām ubṛtām paribarā./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: vašnā Auramazdāha ima dipicičam,  
taya adam akunavam, patišām ariyā, utā pavastāyā utā carmā

§ 69 IV 86–88

§ 70 IV 88–92

Hydarnes by name, the son of Bagābigna, a Persian; (one)  
Megabyxus by name, the son of Dātavahya, a Persian; (one)  
Ardumanish by name, the son of Ochus, a Persian.

Proclaims Darius, the king: You, whosoever shall be king here-  
after, take good care of the offspring of these men!

Proclaims Darius, the king: By the favour of Auramazdā this  
(is) the form of writing, which I have made, besides, in Aryan.  
Both on clay tablets and on parchment it has been placed.

- 84f. b-g-a-b-i-g-n-h-[y]-a: for this name (in the genitive form), which is reflected in Elam. *Ba-ka-pi-ik-na* and Bab. *Ba-ga-bi-'ig-na-*, but etymologi-  
cally remains rather controversial, see, i.a., Mayrhofer 1979, II/15f.; Humbach 1981, 90 (\**Baga-abi-gna-* “having the striking power of (a) god”).
- 85 b-[g-b]-u-x-š: for this name, which is restored on the basis of Elam. *Ba-ka-bu-uk-šā* and Bab. *Ba-ga-bu-uk-šū* (cfr. moreover Gk. Μεγάβυξος,  
etc.), see Mayrhofer 1979, II/16.
- 85 d-a-<sup>⌈</sup>t-v<sup>⌋</sup>-h-y-h-y-a: even if the restoration (based partly on Elam. *Da-ad-du-man-ia* and Bab. *Za-'tu-'a* but primarily on the traces of the  
OP form itself) has changed now, the interpretation of this name (in the genitive form), though not wholly clear (cfr. Mayrhofer 1979, II/19),  
is semantically the same as before.
- 86 a-r-d<sup>u</sup>-u-<sup>⌈</sup>m<sup>⌋</sup>-n-i-š: since the reading -d<sup>u</sup>-u- is now assured (despite Bab. *Ar-di-ma-ni-iš*; cfr. Schmitt 1990, 54–56), all etymological speculations  
starting from my own previous reading /Ardi-/ have become futile; for full details see now Schmitt, l.c.
- 86 v-h-u-k-h-y-[a]: Iran. \**h* normally having disappeared before *u* in Old Persian, the writing v-h-u-k- of this stem (cfr. Elam. *Ma-u-uk-ka*, Bab.  
*Ū-ma-aḥ-ku*, Gk. ὤχος, etc.) can only be explained as reflecting a stem /Vahuka-/ with a unique and isolated suffix \*-*aḥka-* or as a non-standard  
OP dialectal form /Vahuka-/; the latter explanation, most recently endorsed by Schmitt 1984, 197f., may be further supported by quoting the  
Indoaryan equivalent MIA. *Vasuka-*, which is attested epigraphically in Bharhut.
- 89 di-i-p-i-<sup>⌈</sup>c<sup>⌋</sup>-i-<sup>⌈</sup>ç-m<sup>⌋</sup>: this form containing the OP equivalent \*/ciça-/ of MP *čīhr* “form, shape, appearance”, which has been conjectured by  
Schmitt 1990, 56–60, on account of the traces visible on the photograph, seems to fit better into the present context than Eilers’s /dipiv(a)idam/:  
Darius first speaks, I think, of the “outer form” of his “new writing” and adds then a remark on its “inner form” in that thus it became possible  
to write a text “in Aryan”. As to the invention of the Old Persian writing system (by order of Darius) cfr. most recently Mayrhofer 1989, esp.  
175.
- 89f. p-v-s-t-a-y-[a]: this word OP /pavastā-/ (> MP *pōst* “skin, hide”) here means the thin clay envelope used to protect unbaked clay tablets, as  
has been shown by Benveniste 1951, 42–47 (cfr. Lecoq 1974, 81f.); another reading (which does not fit the traces, however) and interpretation  
is argued for by Hinz 1972, 244, 248.



gṛftam āha, paṭiṣamci nāmanāfam akunavam, paṭiṣam  
uvādātam akunavam, utā niyapinṭhiya utā paṭiyafraṭhiya paṭiṣiyā  
mām, pasāva ima dipiciṣam frāstāyam vispadā antar dahyāva,  
kāra hamātaxṣatā./

Besides, I also made the signature; besides, I made the lineage.  
And it was written down and was read aloud before me. After-  
wards I have sent this form of writing everywhere into the coun-  
tries. The people strove (to use it).

- 90 g-r-[f-t-m]: Kent's restoration /graθita-/ being phonologically untenable and Lecoq's emendation [h]-r-[š-t-m] being excluded by the plain initial g-, the proposal of Hinz 1972, 244, 249, g-r-[f-t-m], seems to be more plausible than the one of Harmatta 1966, 278, g-r-[š-t-m], though both are only feeble attempts at a solution of this textual problem.
- 90 [n-a-m-n-a]-f-m: restored by way of example for ]-f-m, since the word missing here must be the equivalent of Elam. *hi-iš* "name"; Harmatta 1966, 279f., taking into consideration [u-v-a-n-a]-f-m "pedigree, lineage (literally: concerning (one's) own family)" (as independently also Mayrhofer 1964b, 82f.); [n-a-m-n-a]-f-m "name and clan/family" (as independently also Hinz 1972, 244, 249; cfr. Lecoq 1974, 83, 84) and [n-a-m-θ-i]-f-m /nāmaθaifam/ "signature, *Namenszug*", finally preferred the latter; all these proposals seem to require too much space, however. Instead of "name/signature" and "genealogy" respectively for the two nouns corresponding to Elam. *hi-iš* and *e-ip-pi*, Gershevitch 1982, 104, thought of the rather daring interpretation as "lines and columns (?) of the text."
- 90f. [u]-v-a-d-a-[t-m]: this restoration by Harmatta 1966, 280 (in place of earlier [u]-v-a-d-a-[m] as, e.g., in Kent), literally "own descent, pedigree", corresponding to Elam. *e-ip-pi* "lineage", has also been accepted by Hinz 1972, 244, 249; Lecoq 1974, 83, 84.
- 92 h-m-a-[t]-x-š-t-a: this form shows, if confronted with h-m-t-x-š-t-a in line 82 above, the initial vowel (augment) of the simple verb transferred into the compound, as elsewhere (cfr. Hoffmann 1976, 633); no other restoration is preferable, not even the form h-m-a-[c]-x-š-t-a /hamācaxṣatā/ "grasped, understood" proposed by Gershevitch 1982, 105f. (which could be connected with the Sogdian past stem *'nc'yt* /ančayd-/ "grasped"), since the traces visible on the photograph do not support such a reading.

As a last remark I would like to add that I myself regard neither the restoration nor the translation given here for this last paragraph as final.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima, taya adam akunavam  
duvitīyāmca čitīyām θardam, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam:  
Ūja nāmā dahyāuš, haṇ hamičiyā abava, aīva martiya Aθamaīta  
nāma Ūjiya, avam maθištam akunavantā, pasāva adam kārām  
frāišayam, aīva martiya Gaub(a)ruva nāma Pārsa, manā  
bandaka, avamšām maθištam akunavam, pasāva Gaub(a)ruva  
hadā kārā ašiyava Ūjam, hamaranam akunauš hadā Ūjiyaībiš,  
pasāva Gaub(a)ruva Ūjiyā aja utā viyamrada utā tayamšām  
maθištam agrbāya, anaya abi mām, pasāvašim adam avājanam,  
pasāva dahyāuš manā abava./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avai Ūjiyā arīkā āha, utāšām  
Auramazdā nai ayadiya, Auramazdām ayadaī, vašnā Aura-  
mazdāha yaθā mām kāmā, avaθādiš akunavam./

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: haya Auramazdām yadātaī, yānam  
avahyā ahati utā jīvahyā utā mṛtahyā./

§ 71 V 1–14

Proclaims Darius, the king: This (is) what I have done in the second and the third year, after that I became king: (There is) a country, Elam by name; that became rebellious. (There was) one single man, Athamaita by name, an Elamite – him they made (their) chief. After that I sent forth an army; (there was) one single man, Gobryas by name, a Persian, my vassal – him I made their chief. Afterwards Gobryas with the army went to Elam (and) fought a battle with the Elamites. Afterwards Gobryas defeated the Elamites and decimated (them), and he captured their chief and led (him) to me. After that I slew him. After that the country became mine.

§ 72 V 14–17

Proclaims Darius, the king: Those Elamites were disloyal, and by them Auramazdā was not worshipped. I (, however,) worshipped Auramazdā. By the favour of Auramazdā, as (was) my desire, so I treated them.

§ 73 V 18–20

Proclaims Darius, the king: Who shall worship Auramazdā, his shall be the (object of his) prayer, both (while he is) living and (when he is) dead.

- 3 ç-[i-t-i-y-a-m]: since Cameron's unequivocal reading of /duvitīyām-/ "second", there is perfect unanimity among scholars in restoring a form of the numeral "third" (accusative sing. fem.); Kent's /čitām-cā/ being discarded as repugnant to /pati čitīyam/ DB II 43, there remain only /čitīyām/ (with "inverse" /ca/) or defectively written /čitīyām-ca/ (perhaps without following word divider) as possible restorations (cfr. the textual note ad loc.); since -m-c : θ- and -m-c-a θ- seem to be excluded for lack of space and -m-c θ- offers two abnormalities, I adhere still to the proposal of Schmitt 1963, 439.
- 4 u]-v-j n-a-m-'a' d-h-y-a-u-š: it is noteworthy, even strange, that the name of the well-known country of Elam, /Ūja-/ , is introduced here by means of the common prosthetical construction, like a lesser-known geographical name which has not previously been mentioned; cfr. Weissbach 1940, 61, who gives an unacceptable explanation, however.
- 5 'a]-θ-m-i-t: this perhaps genuinely Elamite proper name /Aθamaīta-/ (to be read thus and not /Atam°/) may, like Akkadianized *At-ta.me-tu*, reflect an Elamite shortening of *Ad-da.ha-mi-ti.d.in-su-iš-na-ak*: see Mayrhofer 1979, II/15.
- 7 [I m-r-t]-i-y: it is remarkable that Darius's general Gobryas, too, is introduced here by means of a formula which in the original main part of the Bisitun text is used only for the king's enemies, never for his vassals; cfr. Weissbach 1940, 62.
- 11 vi-i-y-m-r-d: in the interpretation of this form as /viy-a-mrada/ "he decimated" I follow Mayrhofer 1964b, 81f.
- 19 [y-a]-n-m: since the restoration of Herrenschildt 1984, 155f., which is indeed the most probable from the linguistic point of view (cfr. Kellens 1985, 110, 123<sup>10</sup>; Klein 1988, 393<sup>9</sup>), does not fit the space available, I retain Kent's wording and understand OP /yāna-/ "prayer" as meaning also (like its Avestan counterpart) "the object of the prayer" or "its fulfilment" respectively; the root /dā-/ , which is connected with that noun in DPd 23f., does not seem to me to be essential in a non-active construction (cfr. also Schmitt 1990, 66).

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: pasāva hadā kārā adam ašiyavam  
abi Sakām, pasāva Sakā, tayai xaudām tigrām baranti, imai patiš  
mām āiša, yadi abi draya avārsam, draxtā ava hadā kārā visā  
viyatarayam, pasāva avai Sakā adam ajanam, aniyam agrbāya,  
haṣṣu basta anayatā abi mām, utāšām haya maθišta āha, Skunxa  
nāma, avam agrbāya, bastam anaya abi mām, avadā aniyam  
maθištam akunavam, yaθā mām kāmā āha, pasāva dahyāuš manā  
abava./

§ 74 V 20–30

Proclaims Darius, the king: Afterwards with an army I went  
against Scythia; after that the Scythians who wear the pointed  
cap, these came against me, when I had come down to the sea.  
By means of a tree-trunk with the whole army I crossed it. After-  
wards I defeated those Scythians; another (part of them) they  
captured; that was led to me in fetters. And (the man) who was  
their chief, Skunkha by name, him they captured (and) led to  
me in fetters. There I made another (their) chief, as was my  
desire. After that the country became mine.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avai Sakā arīkā āha, utā nai  
Auramazdāšām ayadiya, Auramazdām ayadai, vašnā Aura-  
mazdāha yaθā mām kāmā, avaθādīš akunavam./

§ 75 V 30–33

Proclaims Darius, the king: Those Scythians were disloyal, and  
Auramazdā was not worshipped by them. I (, however,) wor-  
shipped Auramazdā. By the favour of Auramazdā, as (was) my  
desire, so I treated them.

/θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: haya Auramazdām yadātai, avahyā  
yānam ahati utā jivahyā utā mṛtahyā./

§ 76 V 33–36

Proclaims Darius, the king: Who shall worship Auramazdā, his  
shall be the (object of his) prayer, both (while he is) living and  
(when he is) dead.

21f. s-k-a-m: in the interpretation of this form /Sakām/ I follow Szemerényi 1975, 346–349, who explained it as a sandhi-variant of the accusative plural \*/Sakān/ before the following labial.

23 d-r-y: OP /drayah-/ signifies the “sea” (and especially the Sea of Marmora: cfr. Schmitt 1972a, 526f.), perhaps lakes, too, but certainly not rivers, so that the River Oxus or Iaxartes cannot be meant here.

23f. a-v-a-[r-s-m]: “to reach the sea-coast” is expressed by the preverb *ava-* “down” in /ava-ṭ-/ “to come down”, which usage reminds one of Gk. καταβαίνειν “to go down (especially: to the sea)”.

24 [d]-r-x-[t]-a: this form, which Hinz 1972, 246, 251, conjectured for Cameron’s [+-]r-x[+-]a, is the instrumental singular of OP \*/draxta-/, the antecedent of MP *draxt* and NP *diraxt* “tree”, which has been surmised also in an inscriptional attestation of Aram. *drḥt* from Achaemenid Sardis (cfr. Hinz 1975, 88); I wonder, however, whether this restoration really fills the space available.

24 [a-v]: the restoration of this pronominal form, agreeing with /draya/ in line 23 above, is necessary as the obligatory object of the verbal stem /vi-taraya-/; for details see Schmitt 1990, 70f.

27 s-[k<sup>u</sup>]-u-x: for the name of this Scythian rebel, /Skunxa-/ according to the Elamite rendering *Iš-ku-in-ka*, and its etymological connection with an Ossetic word-family see Mayrhofer 1979, II/26.

## DBa

- 1 : a-d-m : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : v-z-r-k : x-š-a-<sup>l</sup>y<sup>l</sup>-  
 2 θ-i-y : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a-n-a-m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : p-a-r-s-i-y : x-<sup>l</sup>š<sup>l</sup>-  
 3 a-y-θ-i-y : d-h-y-u-n-a-m : vi-š-t-a-s-p-h-y-a : p-u-<sup>l</sup>ç<sup>l</sup> :  
 4 a-r-š-a-m-h-y-a : n-p-a : h-x-a-m-n-i-š-i-y : ●● θ-a-t-i-y : d-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-r-  
 5 y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : m-n-a : p-i-t-a : vi-š-t-a-s-p [:] v i-  
 6 š-t-a-s-p-h-y-a : p-i-t-a : a-r-š-a-m : a-r-š-a-m-h-y-a [:] p-i-  
 7 t-a : a-r-i-y-a-r-m-n : a-r-i-<sup>l</sup>y<sup>l</sup>-a-r-m-n-h-y-a : p-i-<sup>l</sup>t<sup>l</sup>-a :  
 8 c-i-š-p-i-š : c-i-š-p-i-š : p-i-t-a : h-x-a-m-n-i-š :  
 9 ●● θ-a-t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-<sup>l</sup>v<sup>l</sup>-h-y-  
 10 r-a-d-i-y : v-y-m : h-x-a-m-n-i-š-i-y-a : θ-[h]-y-a-  
 11 m-h-y : h-c-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y-t : a-<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>-a-t-a  
 12 : a-m-h-y : h-c-a : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-vi-i-y-t : h-y-a : a-m-a-  
 13 x-m : t-u-m-a : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a : a-h ●● : θ-a-  
 14 t-i-y : d-a-r-y-v-u-š : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : VIII : m-  
 15 n-a : t-u-m-a-y-a : t-y-i-y : p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-  
 16 m : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y-a : a-h : a-d-m : n-  
 17 v-m : IX : du-u-vi-i-t-a-p-r-n-m : v-y-m : x-  
 18 š-a-y-θ-<sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-y-a : a-m-h-y :

In this inscription as a whole there is a great number of vacant spaces left blank because of the uneven surface or even deeper crevices diagonally crossing the inscribed area near the right margin, e.g. in the following lines: 1 *θ* ● *i*; 3 *p* ●● *h* and *y* ●●●● *a*; 4 *š* ● *i*; 7 *r* (14th sign) ● *i* (15th) and *i* ● <sup>l</sup>t<sup>l</sup>; 8 *h* ● *x* and *n* ● *i*; 10 *r* ● *a* and : ●● *h*; 11 *u* ●●● *v*; 12 before and between the first three signs ● : *a* ● *m*; 13 *i* ●● *y*; 15 *n* ●● *a* and : ●●● *t-u*; 16 : ●●●● *x* and *y* ●●●● *θ*.

From line 14 the text is spaced out to the utmost both because of the rather rough and chinky surface and in order to fill, at least partly, all the lines previously drawn for this inscription.

As in the major inscription the beginning of a new section (with the phrase /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya/) is indicated by a blank space for two characters (●●). But contrary to the usage of the major inscription and of line 13, in lines 4 and 9 (here just at the beginning) these spaces follow the word divider (the facts being given wrongly, though in different ways, by Rawlinson, King-Thompson and their followers Weissbach and Kent) instead of preceding it (as in line 13); the latter usage may be regarded as more correct, since in DB the word divider is something like a signal denoting the beginning of words (cfr. Schmitt 1975, 187f.).

The whole text of DBa is identical with that of DB I 1–11 (§§ 1–4) – except for a few minor divergencies (genitive form c-i-š-p-i-š DBa 8 instead of c-i-š-p-a-i-š DB I 5f.; the position of the word divider before/after [see

above] the blank space indicating the new sections) and without prejudice to characters and words restored.

- § 1 /adam Dārayavauš, xšāyaθiya vazrka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya Pārsai, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām, Vištāspahyā puça, Ršāma-hyā napā, Haxāmanišiya./
- § 2 /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: manā pitā Vištāspa, Vištāpahyā pitā Ršāma, Ršāmahyā pitā Ariyāramna, Ariyāramnahyā pitā Cišpiš, Cišpaiš pitā Haxāmaniš./
- § 3 /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: avahyarādī vayam Haxāmanišiyā θan-hyāmahi, hacā paruviyata āmātā amahi, hacā paruviyata hayā amāxam taumā xšāyaθiyā āha./
- § 4 /θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: aštā manā taumāyā, tayaī paruvam xšāyaθiyā āha, adam navama, navā duvitāparanam vayam xšāyaθiyā amahi./
- § 1 I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of the countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, an Achaemenid.
- § 2 Proclaims Darius, the king: My father (is) Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames; the father of Arsames (was) Ariaramnes; the father of Ariaramnes (was) T(e)ispes; the father of T(e)ispes (was) Achaemenes.
- § 3 Proclaims Darius, the king: For that reason are we called Achaemenids; from ancient times we are noblemen; from ancient times our family has been kings.
- § 4 Proclaims Darius, the king: (There are) eight in my family who formerly have been kings; I (am) the ninth; (thus altogether) nine, now as ever, are we kings.

## DBb

- 1 : i-y-m : g-u-m-a-  
 2 t : h-<sup>l</sup>y<sup>l</sup> : m-g<sup>u</sup>-u-š : a-  
 3 du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y :  
 4 a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : b-  
 5 r-d<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : h-y : ku-

# THE MINOR INSCRIPTIONS DBa-k

- 6 u-r-u-š : p-u-ç : a-d-m : x-š-  
7 a-y-θ-i-y : a-mi-i-y :

From line 4 onwards the lines contain more characters, since the area inscribed is extended to the right under that of the same text's Elamite version.

1: Blank space at the end (after *a*) caused by the rock.

7: Little spaces both at the beginning (before *a*) and before the last *y* left blank for similar reasons.

/iyam Gaumāta haya maguš adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Bḡdiya ami, haya Kuraṣ puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami./

This Gaumāta the magus lied; thus he said: I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

## DBc

- 1 : i-y-m : a-ç-  
2 i-n : a-du-u-  
3 ru-u-ji-i-y :  
4 a-v-θ-a  
5 : a-θ-h : a-  
6 d-m : x-  
7 š-a-y-θ-  
8 i-y : a-mi-  
9 i-y : u-  
10 v-j-i-y :

Several larger or smaller gaps left blank owing to the uneven surface of the rock, esp.: 1 between *y* and *m*; 4 nearly half the line between *a* and *v*; 6 between *d* and *m*; and 9 at the beginning and the end of the line (before *i* and after *u* respectively).

/iyam Ācina adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Ūjai./

This Ācina lied; thus he said: I am king in Elam.

## DBd

- 1 : i-y-m : n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r :  
2 a-「du」-u-ru-u-ji-i-y : a-v-

- 3 θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m : n-b-  
4 u-ku-u-d-r-c-r : a-mi-i-  
5 y : h-y : 「n」-b-u-n-i-t-  
6 h-y : p-u-「ç」 : a-d-m : x-  
7 š-a-y-θ-「i-y」 : a-mi-i-y : b-  
8 a-b-i-r-u-v :

Partly damaged by a long fissure (reaching from the upper margin of the panel into the figure of Ācina) which has caused several gaps in the original chain of cuneiform signs, but also later loss of characters.

1: The name attested several times in the great inscription as n-di-i-t-b-i-r is here written clearly (though unnoticed by all previous editors) as n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r /Nidintabaira/, a form evidently nearer to the Babylonian original (cfr. Schmitt 1990, 74f.).

From line 2 (*v*, then *n-b*, *mi-i*, *n-i-t*, etc.) the end of each line is written to the right of the winged figure's leg.

/iyam Nidintabaira adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaitahya puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami Bābiraṣ./

This Nidintu-Bēl lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

## DBe

- 1 : i-y-m : f-r-  
2 v-r-t-i-š :  
3 a-du-u-ru-u-  
4 ji-i-y : a-v-  
5 θ-a : a-θ-h : a-d-m :  
6 x-š-θ-r-i-t : a-mi-i-y  
7 : u-v-x-š-t-r-h-y  
8 : t-u-m-a-y-a : a-d-m  
9 : x-š-a-y-θ-i-y : a-「mi」-i-y  
10 : m-a-  
11 d-i-y < : >

Engraved mainly on the robe of the Median pretender Phraortes, from line 5 onwards the inscription is continued to the right on the smoothed rock itself, exclusively so in lines 10–11.

11: Word divider at the end seemingly omitted, though all modern editors (except Rawlinson) have it in spite of the facts.

/iyam Fravartiš adurujiya, avaθā aθanha : adam Xšaθrita ami, Uvaxštrahya taumāyā, adam xšāyaθiya ami Mādai./

This Phraortes lied; thus he said: I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares; I am king in Media.

### DBf

- 1 : i-y-m : m-r-t-i-y : a-
- 2 d<sup>u</sup>-u-r<sup>u</sup>-「u」-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-
- 3 v-θ-a : 「a」-θ-h : a-
- 4 d-m : i-m-n-i-š : a-m<sup>i</sup>-
- 5 i-y : u-v-j-i-y : x-
- 6 š-a-y-θ-i-
- 7 y :

From line 2 (*d<sup>u</sup>*, then *v*, *d-m* : *i*, etc.) the beginning of each line is written to the left of the winged figure's leg.

2: Little blank space between *r<sup>u</sup>* and *u* caused by the rock.

7: The greater part of the line is left blank.

/iyam Martiya adurujiya, avaθā aθanha : adam Imaniš ami, Ūjai xšāyaθiya./

This Martiya lied; thus he said: I am Imani, king in Elam.

### DBg

- 1 : i-y-m : c-i-ç-
- 2 t-x-m : a-du-
- 3 u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y
- 4 : a-v-θ-a : a-
- 5 θ-h : a-d-m :
- 6 x-š-a-y-θ-i-
- 7 y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-
- 8 y : a-s-g-
- 9 r-t-i-y : u-v-
- 10 x-š-t-r-h-y
- 11 : t-u-m-a-y-
- 12 a :

2: Before and after *d<sup>u</sup>* small fissures in the rock.

7, 8: Space left blank at several places owing to the uneven surface of the rock, but leaving no room for doubt about the wording of the text itself (despite some errors on the part of several previous editors).

12: Word divider at the end omitted by Kent 1953, 135 only by mistake.

/iyam Ciçantaxma adurujiya, avaθā aθanha : adam xšāyaθiya ami Asagartai, Uvaxštrahya taumāyā./

This Tritantaechmes lied; thus he said: I am king in Sagartia, (I am) of the family of Cyaxares.

### DBh

- 1 : 「i-y」-m : v-h-y-
- 2 z-「d」-a-t : a-du-u-
- 3 r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-i-y : a-v-
- 4 θ-「a」 : a-θ-h : a-d-
- 5 「m」 : b-r-di-i-y : a-
- 6 m<sup>i</sup>-i-y : h-y : ku-
- 7 u-r-u-š : p-u-ç
- 8 : a-d-m : x-š-a-
- 9 y-θ-i-y : a-m<sup>i</sup>-i-y < : >

7, 8: Little blank space between the left margin and the first signs (*u* and : respectively), so that no sign is lost or damaged in spite of the crevice running through the rock and affecting the preceding lines.

9: Word divider at the end omitted for lack of space.

/iyam Vahyazdāta adurujiya, avaθā aθanha : adam Bṛdiya ami, haya Kurauš puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami./

This Vahyazdāta lied; thus he said: I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

### DBi

- 1 : i-y-m : a-r-x
- 2 : a-du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-j<sup>i</sup>-

# THE MINOR INSCRIPTIONS DBa-k

3 i-y : a-v-θ-a :  
 4 a-θ-h : a-d-m :  
 5 n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-  
 6 c-r : a-mi-i-y :  
 7 h-y : n-b-u-n-  
 8 i-t-h-y : p-u-  
 9 ç : a-d-m : x-š-a-  
 10 y-θ-i-y : a-mi-i-y  
 11 : b-a-b- <i> -r-u-v :

5/6: No character missing in n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-d-r-c-r despite the readings given by Rawlinson (n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-d-r-c-r), King-Thompson (n-b-u-k<sup>u</sup>-u-[d]-r-c-r), Weissbach and Kent (who even expressly stated that “*d*<sup>a</sup> is omitted”).

11: *i* omitted in b-a-b-i-r-u-v, as the correct form (attested several times) is written.

/iyam Araxa adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam Nabukudracara ami, haya Nabunaṭahya puça, adam xšāyaθiya ami Bābiraṭ./

This Arakha lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabū-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

## DBj

1 : i-y-m : f-r-a-d :  
 2 a-du-u-ru-u-ji-i-

3 y : a-v-θ-a : a-θ-h  
 4 : a-d-m : x-š-a-y-θ-  
 5 i-y : a-mi-i-y : m-r-g-  
 6 u-v :

2: Little gap between *a* and *d*<sup>u</sup>, seemingly caused by an unevenness of the rock, so that the number of signs is smaller in this line.

/iyam Frāda adurujiya, avaθā aθanha: adam xšāyaθiya ami Margau./

This Frāda lied; thus he said: I am king in Margiana.

## DBk

1 : i-y-m : s-ku-u-  
 2 x : h-y : s-k < : >

2: Word divider at the end omitted (as in DBh), though enough space would have been available here.

/iyam Skunxa, haya Saka./

This (is) Skunkha, the Scythian.

## INDEXES

The first two indexes try to draw the necessary conclusions from the newly constituted text for Kent's "Lexicon" (1953, 164–215), i.e. they list respectively the new readings which are to be added and the words or

forms which have hereby become obsolete. They are not intended, however, as a new glossary to the Bisitun texts, not even from the outset. – The order is alphabetical, only in Index 2 following that of Kent.

### 1. ADDENDA TO KENT'S "LEXICON"

a-g-r-b-a-y /agr̥bāya/ V 25f. (instead of *agarbāyam*)  
a-g-r-b-i-y /agrabiya/ II 73 (instead of *āgarbīta*)  
a-h /āha/ V 27  
a-j /aja/ V 11 (instead of *avāja*)  
a-θ-m-i-t /Aθamaīta/ V 5 (instead of *Atamaita*)  
a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t-i-y /Auramazdā-tai/ IV 58 (instead of *Auramazdātay*)  
a-v /ava/ V 24 (instead of *avadā*)  
a-v-h-y-r-a-dī-i-m-i-y /avahyarādī-mai/ IV 62 (instead of *avahyarādiy*)  
a-v-i-y /avai/ V 25 (instead of *adam*)  
a-v-θ-a-dī-i-š /avaθā-diš/ IV 36 (instead of *avaθā : diš*), IV 72 (instead of *avaθāšatā*)  
b-s-t-m /bastam/ V 28 (instead of *utā*)  
c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š /Cincaxraiš/ II 9 (instead of *Cicixrāiš*)  
-c-i-y: see p-t-i-š-m-c-i-y  
ç-i-t-i-y-a-m /çitiyām/ V 3 (instead of *çitāmçā*)  
d-a-t-v-h-y-h-y-a /Dātavahyā/ IV 85 (instead of *Dātuvahyā*)  
dī-i-p-i-c-i-ç-m /dipiciçam/ IV 89 (instead of *dipīmai*), IV 91f. (instead of *dipim : adam*)  
-di-i-š: see a-v-θ-a-dī-i-š, d-r-u-g-dī-i-š, p-s-a-v-dī-i-š, u-f-r-š-t-a-dī-i-š  
d-r-u-g-dī-i-š /drauga-diš/ IV 34 (instead of *drauga : diš*)  
d-r-x-t-a /draxta/ V 24 (instead of *parašim*)  
d-θ-s /daθans/ IV 71f. (instead of *utava*)  
g-r-f-t-m /gr̥ftam/ IV 90 (instead of *graθitā*)  
h-u-v /hau/ I 29 (instead of *hauvam*)  
h-y /haya/ V 27  
i-m /ima/ IV 89 (instead of *iyam*), IV 91 (instead of *imām*)  
m-a-m /mām/ V 23 (in /patiš mām/, see p-t-i-š)  
-m-i-y: see a-v-h-y-r-a-dī-i-m-i-y  
m-n-i-y-a-h-y /maniyāhai/ IV 39 (instead of *maniyāhaiy*)

m-θ-i-š-t /maθišta/ V 27 (instead of *maθišta-šām*)  
n-a-m-n-a-f-m /nāmanāfam/ IV 90 (instead of *patikaram*)  
n-i-dī-i-t-b-i-r /Nidintabaira/ IV 12, DBd 1 (instead of *Nadi<sup>u</sup>tabaira*)  
n-i-y-p-i-θ-m /niyapinθam/ IV 71 (instead of *niyapaišam*)  
p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-m /paruvam/ I 29 (instead of *hauvam*)  
p-s-a-v /pasāva/ V 22 (instead of *pasā*)  
p-s-a-v-dī-i-š /pasāva-diš/ IV 35 (instead of *pasāva : diš*)  
p-s-a-v-š-i-m /pasāva-šim/ V 13 (instead of *utāšim*)  
p-t-i-š /patiš/ V 23 (/patiš mām/ instead of *Sakā hacāma*)  
p-t-i-š-m-c-i-y /patišam-ci/ IV 90 (instead of *patišamaiy*)  
p-t-i-y-f-r-θ-i-y /patiyafraθiya/ IV 91 (instead of *patiyafrašiya*)  
r-g-m /ragam/ IV 44 (instead of *rangam*)  
-š-a-m /-šām/ V 27 in u-t-a-š-a-m /utā-šām/ (instead of m-θ-i-š-t-š-a-m /maθišta-šām/)  
š-k-u-θ-i-m /škaūθim/ IV 65 (instead of *škaurim*)  
-t-i-y in a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t-i-y /Auramazdā-tai/ IV 58 (instead of *Auramazdātay*)  
t-y /taya/ IV 89 (instead of *tyām*)  
t-y-i-y /tayai/ IV 32 (to be added to Kent's text)  
θ-a-dī-i-y /θādi/ IV 54 (instead of *rādiy*)  
u-f-r-š-t-a-dī-i-š /ufraštā-diš/ IV 69 (instead of *ufraštādiy*)  
u-f-r-š-t-m /ufraštam/ IV 66f. (instead of *ufrastam*)  
u-t-a /utā/ I 34 (instead of *pasāva*)  
u-t-a-š-a-m /utā-šām/ V 26f. (instead of *utāšim*)  
u-v-a-d-a-t-m /uvādātam/ IV 90f. (instead of *uvādām*)  
u-y-v-a /Uyavā/ II 44 (instead of *Uyamā*)  
v-h-y-s-p-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-h-y-a /Vahyasparuvahyā/ IV 83 (instead of *Vāyas-pārahya*)  
v-r-dī-i-y-i-y /vr̥diyai/ IV 44 (instead of *vartaiyaiy*)



## 2. CORRIGENDA AND DELEND A TO KENT'S "LEXICON"

Atamaita-: delete entirely and read a-θ-m-i-t /Aθamajta/ in V 5  
 adam: delete *adam* IV 92 (missing from Kent's Lexicon but given in his text), *manā* IV 12, *-mai* IV 90 (where p-t-i-š-m-c-i-y /patišam-ci/ is to be read instead of *patišamai*) and *-ma* in *hacā-ma* V 23  
 avaθā: sub (1) delete *avaθā* IV 36 and insert a-v-θ-a-d-i-i-š /avaθā-diš/ IV 36  
 avaθāšatā: delete entirely and read a-v-θ-a-d-i-i-š /avaθā-diš/ IV 72  
 avadā: sub (1) delete V 24 and read a-v /ava/  
 avahyarādi: read a-v-h-y-r-a-d-i-i-m-i-y /avahyarādī-mai/ in IV 62  
 1ah-: delete *āha* IV 89  
 ima-: read i-m /ima/ IV 91 (instead of *i(mā)m*)  
 iyam: read i-m /ima/ IV 89 (instead of *i(ya)m*)  
 utā: delete *utā* V 28 and read instead of *utāšim* in V 13 p-s-a-v-š-i-m /pasāva-šim/ and in V 26f. u-t-a-š-a-m /utā-šām/  
 utava-: delete entirely and read d-θ-s /daθans/ IV 71f.  
 ufrašta- ufrasta-: read u-f-r-š-t-m /ufrāštam/ IV 66f. and u-f-r-š-t-a-d-i-i-š /ufrāštā-diš/ IV 69  
 Uyamā-: read u-y-v-a (II 44)  
 uvādā-: delete entirely and read u-v-a-d-a-t-m /uvādātam/ IV 90f.  
 graθ-: delete entirely and read g-r-f-t-m /gṛftam/ IV 90  
 grab-: read a-g-r-b-a-y /agṛbāya/ V 25f. (instead of *agarbāyam*) and a-g-r-b-i-y /agrabiya/ II 73 (instead of *āgarbīta*)  
 Cincixri-: read c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š (II 9)  
 jan-: read a-j /aja/ V 11 (instead of *avāja*) and delete *avājanam* V 27  
 tuvam: delete *-tay* and read a-u-r-m-z-d-a-t-i-y /Auramazdā-tai/ in IV 58  
 1tya-: read t-y /taya/ IV 89 (instead of Kent's "ty(*ām*)", which sub (1) is registered as "tya as asf.")  
 čita-: delete entirely and read č-i-t-i-y-a-m /čitīyām/ in V 3  
 Dātuvahya-: delete entirely and read d-a-t-v-h-y-h-y-a /Dātavahyahyā/ IV 85  
 -di-: read d-r-u-g-d-i-i-š /drauga-diš/ IV 34, p-s-a-v-d-i-i-š /pasāva-diš/ IV

35, a-v-θ-a-d-i-i-š /avaθā-diš/ IV 36  
 -diy: delete *ufraštā-diy* IV 69 and read u-f-r-š-t-a-d-i-i-š  
 dipi-: read d-i-i-p-i-c-i-č-m /dipicičam/ IV 89 (instead of *dipī-mai*) and IV 91f. (instead of *dipim* : *adam*)  
 drauga-: read d-r-u-g-d-i-i-š /drauga-diš/ in IV 34  
 Nadintabaira-: read n-i-d-i-i-t-b-i-r /Nidintabaira/ in IV 12, DBd 1  
 Nabukudracara-: read n-b-u-k-u-u-d-r-c-r /Nabukudracara/ DBi 5f. (correctly written)  
 paiθ-: read n-i-y-p-i-θ-m /niyapinθam/ IV 71 (instead of *niyapaišam*)  
 patikara-: delete IV 90  
 patišam: read p-t-i-š-m-c-i-y /patišam-ci/ IV 90 (instead of *patišamai*)  
 2para: delete [*pa*]raši[m] and read d-r-x-t-a /draxtā/ V 24  
 pasā: read p-s-a-v /pasāva/ V 22 (instead of *pasā*)  
 pasāva: delete I 34, II 49; read p-s-a-v-d-i-i-š /pasāva-diš/ IV 35  
 fraθ-: read p-t-i-y-f-r-θ-i-y /patiyafraθiya/ IV 91 (instead of *patiyafrašiya*)  
 maθišta-: read m-θ-i-š-t /maθišta/ V 27 (instead of [*maθ*]išta-[*šām*])  
 1man-: read m-n-i-y-a-h-y /maniyāhai/ IV 39 (instead of *maniyāhai*)  
 rā-: delete entirely and read θ-a-d-i-i-y /θādi/ IV 54 (instead of *rādiy*)  
 raṅga-: delete entirely and read r-g-m /ragam/ IV 44  
 Vāyaspāra-: delete entirely and read v-h-y-s-p-r-u-u-v-h-y-a /Vah-yasparuvahyā/ IV 83  
 vart-: delete entirely and read v-r-d-i-i-y-i-y /vṛdiyai/ IV 44 (instead of *vartaiyai*)  
 vasiy: delete V 25  
 Saka-: sub (1) delete *Sakā* V 23  
 -ša- and -ši-: instead of *utā-šim* read p-s-a-v-š-i-m /pasāva-šim/ V 13 and u-t-a-š-a-m /utā-šām/ V 26f.; delete *-šām* V 27 in *maθišta-šām*  
 šiyav-: *ašiyava* II 94f. (instead of II 95)  
 škaurim: delete entirely and read š-k-u-θ-i-m /škauxθim/ IV 65  
 hauvam: delete entirely (I 29)  
 hacā: sub (1) delete *hacā-ma* V 23

## 3. WORDS AND FORMS DISCUSSED IN THE COMMENTARY

- a-b-i-c-r-i-š /ābicarīš/ I 64f.  
 a-b-i-y /abi/ III 14  
 a-ç-i-n /Āçina/ I 74  
 a-ç-i-y-a-di-i-y-h-y /Āçiyādiyahya/ I 89  
 a-d-m-š-i-š /adam-šiš/ IV 6  
 a-du-u-k-n-i-š-h-y /Ādukanaiṣahya/ II 69  
 a-g-r-i-y /agriya/ I 21  
 a-h-t-i-y /ahati/ IV 39f.  
 a-i-n-i-r-h-y-a /Ainaṛahyā/ I 77  
 a-k-u-u-n-v-y-t-a /akunavayantā/ I 20  
 a-n-a-m-k-h-y /Anāmakahya/ I 96  
 a-n-i-y-a-h b-g-a-h /aniyāha bagāha/ IV 61  
 a-p-i-š-i-m /api-šim/ I 95f.  
 a-p-i-y-a /apiyā/ I 95f.  
 a-r-b-i-r-a-y-a /Arbaṛāyā/ II 90  
 a-r-du-u-m-n-i-š /Ardumaniš/ IV 86  
 a-r-i-k /arika/ I 22  
 a-r-k-d-r-i-š /Arakadriš/ I 37  
 a-r-m-i-n-i-y-i-y /Arminaij/ II 33f.  
 a-r-s-m /ārsam/ I 54  
 a-r-š-a-d-a /Ršādā/ III 72  
 a-r-t-v-r-di-i-y /Rtavardiya/ III 30f.  
 a-r-x /Araxa/ III 78  
 a-s-g-r-t-i-y /Asagartai/ II 79  
 a-t-i-y-a-i-š /atiyāiš/ III 72f.  
 a-θ-i-y /aθai/ I 91  
 a-θ-m-i-t /Aθamaita/ V 5  
 a-u-t-i-y-a-r /Aṭtiyāra/ II 58f.  
 a-v /ava/ V 24  
 a-v-a /avā/ IV 51  
 a-v-a-j-n-i-y-a /avājaniyā/ I 51  
 a-v-a-r-s-m /avārsam/ V 23f.  
 a-v-h-r-d /avahṛda/ II 94f.  
 a-v-j-m /āvajam/ II 75  
 a-v-p-r-a /avaparā/ II 72, III 72f.  
 a-v-θ-a-di-i-š /avaθā-diš/ IV 72  
 a-y-d-n-a /āyadanā/ I 63f.  
 b-a-b-i-r<sup>u</sup>-u-m /Bābirum/ I 91  
 b-a-g-y-a-d-i-š /Bāgayādaiš/ I 55  
 b-d-k-a /bandakā/ I 19  
 b-g-a-b-i-g-n-h-y-a /Bagābignahyā/ IV 84f.  
 b-g-b-u-x-š /Bagabuxša/ IV 85  
 -c-a /-cā/ I 65  
 c-i-c-x-r-a-i-š /Cincaxraiš/ II 9  
 c-i-ç-t-x-m /Ciçantaxma/ II 79  
 c-i-š-p-a-i-š /Cišpaiš/ I 5f.  
 c-š-m /cašma/ II 75  
 ç-i-t-i-y-a-m /çitīyām/ V 3  
 ç-i-t-i-y-m /çitīyam/ II 43  
 d-a-d-r-š-i-š /Dādrišiš/ II 29, III 13  
 d-a-t-v-h-y-h-y-a /Dātavahyā/ IV 85  
 d-h-y-a-u-š-m-i-y /dahyāuš-mai/ IV 39f.  
 di-i-p-i-c-i-ç-m /dipiciçam/ IV 89  
 d-r-u-g-m /drauḡam/ IV 43  
 d-r-x-t-a /draxtā/ V 24  
 d-r-y /draya/ V 23  
 d-θ-s /daθans/ IV 71f.  
 du-u-b-a-l /Dubāla/ III 79  
 du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v-a /duruvā/ IV 39f.  
 du-u-r<sup>u</sup>-u-x-t-m /duruxtam/ IV 44f.  
 du-u-vi-i-t-a-p-r-n-m /duvitāparanam/ I 10  
 du-u-vi-i-t-i-y-m /duvitīyam/ II 37f., III 24  
 du-u-v-r-y-a-m-i-y /duvarayāmai/ II 75  
 f-r-a-d /Frāda/ III 12  
 f-r-a-i-š-y-m /frāišayam/ I 82  
 f-r-h-r-v-m /fraharavam/ I 17  
 g-du-u-t-v /Gandutava/ III 66  
 g-i-θ-a-m-c-a m-a-n-i-y-m-c-a /gaiθām-cā māniyam-cā/ I 65  
 g-r-f-t-m /grftam/ IV 90  
 g-r-m-p-d-h-y /Garmapadahya/ I 42  
 g-u-b-r<sup>u</sup>-u-v /Gaṭb(a)ruva/ IV 84  
 h-l-di-i-t-h-y /Halditahya/ III 79  
 h-m-a-t-x-š-t-a /hamātaxšatā/ IV 92  
 h-m-d-a-r-y-i-y /hamadārayai/ I 26

h-mi-i-ç-i-y /hamiçiya/ II 79  
 h-m-t-x-š-t-a /hamataxšatā/ IV 65f.  
 h-š-i-y-m /hašiyam/ IV 44f.  
 h-y-a-p-r-m /hayāparam/ III 43  
 i-z-l-a /Izalā/ II 53  
 ji-i-y-m-n-m p-t-i-y /jiyamnam pati/ II 62  
 k-a-p-i-š-k-a-n-i-š /Kāpišakāniš/ III 60f.  
 k-b-u-ji-i-y /Kambūjiya/ I 28  
 k-m-n-m /kamnam/ II 19  
 k-p-d /Kampanda/ II 27  
 ku-u-du-ru-u-š /Kunduruš/ II 65  
 ku-u-g-n-k-a /Kuganakā/ II 9  
 m-a-h-y-a /māhyā/ I 37f.  
 m-a-ru-u-š /Māruš/ II 22  
 m-a-t-y /mātaya/ IV 43, 71  
 m-a-t-y-m-a-m /mātaya-mām/ I 52  
 m-r-du-u-n-i-y-h-y-a /Mṛduniyahyā/ IV 84  
 m-r-t-i-y /Martiya/ II 8  
 m-š-k-a-u-v-a /maškāuvā/ I 86  
 mu-u-d-r-a-y /Mudrāya/ II 7  
 n-a-m-a /nāmā/ V 4  
 n-a-m-n-a-f-m /nāmanāfam/ IV 90  
 n-a-vi-i-y-a /nāviyā/ I 86  
 n-b-u-ku-d-r-c-r /Nabukudracara/ I 78f.  
 n-di-i-t-b-i-r /Nadintabaira/ I 77; cfr. n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r  
 n-i-di-i-t-b-i-r /Nidintabaira/ IV 12  
 n-i-p-di-i-y /nipadi/ II 73, III 73  
 n-i-y-p-i-θ-m /niyapinθam/ IV 71  
 n-i-y-š-t-a-y-m /niyaštāyam/ III 91  
 p-i-š-i-y-a-u-v-a-d-a-y-a /Pašiyāuvādāyā/ I 36f.  
 p-r-g /Pṛga/ III 44  
 p-t-i-g-r-b-n-a /Patigrabanā/ III 4f.  
 p-t-i-p-d-m /patipadam/ I 62  
 p-t-i-y-a-i-š /patiyāiša/ I 13  
 p-t-i-y-a-v-h-y-i-y /patiyāvanhyai/ I 55  
 p-v-s-t-a-y-a /pavastāyā/ IV 89f.  
 -r-a-di-i-y /-rādī/ I 6f.  
 r-g-a /Ragā/ II 71f.  
 r-g-m /ragam/ IV 44

r-x-a /Raxā/ III 34  
 s-i-k-y-u-v-t-i-š /Sikayuvatiš/ I 58  
 s-k-a-m /Sakām/ V 21f.  
 s-ku-u-x /Skunxa/ V 27  
 š-k-u-θ-i-m /škaūθim/ IV 65  
 t-a-r-v-a /Tāravā/ III 22  
 t-i-g-r /Tigra/ II 39  
 t-u-m-a /taumā/ IV 74  
 θ-a-di-i-y /θādi/ IV 54  
 θ-a-i-g-r-c-i-š /Θāigracaiš/ II 46f.  
 θ-d-y-a-t-i-y /θadayāti/ IV 49  
 θ-h-y-a-m-h-y /θanhyāmahi/ I 7  
 θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-h-y /Θūravāharahya/ II 36  
 θ-u-x-r-h-y-a /Θuxrahyā/ IV 83  
 u-f-r-š-t-a-di-i-š /ufraštā-diš/ IV 69  
 u-p-d-r-m-h-y-a /Upad(a)ramahyā/ I 74  
 u-p-r-i-y a-r-š-t-a-m /upari ṛštām/ IV 64f.  
 u-t-a-m-i-y /utā-mai/ IV 46  
 u-t-a-n /Utāna/ IV 83  
 u-t-a-t-i-y /utā-tai/ IV 73f.  
 u-v-a-d-a-t-m /uvādātam/ IV 90  
 u-v-a-d-i-c-y /Uvādaicaya/ III 51  
 u-v-a-i-p-š-i-y-m /uvāipašiyam/ I 47  
 u-v-a-m-r-š-i-y-u-š a-m-r-i-y-t-a /uvamṛšiyuš amariyatā/ I 43  
 u-v-j-i-y /Ūjai/ I 75  
 u-v-x-š-t-r-h-y-a /Uvaxštrahyā/ II 15f.  
 u-y-v-a /Uyavā/ II 44  
 v-h-u-k-h-y-a /Vahukahyā/ IV 86  
 v-h-y-s-p-ru-u-v-h-y-a /Vahyasparuvahyā/ IV 83  
 vi-i-d-f-r-n-a /Vindafarnā/ III 84  
 vi-i-d-r-n /Vidṇa/ II 19  
 vi-i-š-p-u-z-a-t-i-š /Višpauzātiš/ II 95  
 vi-i-y-m-r-d /viyamrada/ V 11  
 vi-i-y-n-a-θ-y /viyanāθaya/ IV 66  
 vi-j-y-x-n-h-y /Viyaxnahya/ I 37  
 vi-θ-a-p-t-i-y /viθāpati/ II 16  
 v-r-di-i-y-i-y /vṛdiyai/ IV 44  
 v-r-k-z-n-h-y /Vṛkazanahya/ III 88  
 v-u-mi-i-s /Vaumisa/ II 49

x-š-a-y-θ-i-y /xšāyaθiya/ IV 37  
 x-š-θ-r-i-t /Xšaθrita/ II 15  
 y-a-n-m /yānam/ V 19  
 y-d-a-y-a /Yadāyā/ III 26  
 y-u-t-i-y-a /Yutiyā/ III 22  
 z-a-z-a-n /Zāzāna/ I 92  
 z-u-z-h-y /Zūzahya/ II 33  
 I /ai̯va/, masc. I 36  
 I /ai̯vam/, ntr. II 75, III 8  
 II /duvai̯/, ntr. I 96  
 V /pancā/ III 47  
 VII /haftā/ III 68  
 VIII /aštā/ I 9f.  
 IX /navā/ I 9f.

X /daθā/ I 56  
 XII /duvādaθā/ III 39  
 XIII /çayazdaθā/ III 63  
 XIV /caçudaθā/ I 38  
 XV /pancadaθā/ II 56  
 XVIII /aštādaθā/ II 41  
 XIX /navadaθā/ IV 5  
 XXII /duvai̯cā vīθaticā/, ntr. II 98  
 XXIII /tišrašcā vīθaticā/, fem. I 17  
 XXIII /çicā vīθaticā/, ntr. III 18  
 XXV /pancacā vīθaticā/ II 69  
 XXVI /xšuvašcā vīθaticā/ I 89  
 XXVII /haftacā vīθaticā/ II 26